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FEBRUARY 1ST.

PROSPECTUS

OF

M'CULLOCH'S

GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMANS,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1840.

London: Printed by Manning and Mason, Ivy-Lane.

PROSPECTUS.

The utility of Geographical Dictionaries is so generally admitted, that it seems unnecessary to endeavour, by any lengthened statements, to conciliate the favourable opinion of the reader by dwelling on their merits. There are few so incurious as not to wish to learn something of the state of foreign countries, especially of those with which their own nation is connected, or which have been celebrated in history. The desire to gratify this laudable curiosity has, in all ages, prompted individuals to visit foreign countries; and has made the works of voyagers and travellers be eagerly sought after. But the situation of most people precludes the possibility of their leaving their native country; while few of those who do travel can survey more than a small part of the earth's surface. Neither is it possible adequately to supply this want of personal knowledge by resorting to the relations of travellers. These are very frequently vague and inconclusive, and the statements in them are not always to be depended on; and though it were otherwise, the command of many hundred volumes, and the free disposal of one's time, would be necessary to enable an individual to acquire, by their means, a general acquaintance with the different regions of the earth. Hence the utility of geographical works, in which the information scattered in the accounts of travellers, and in official and other documents, is sifted and collected under its proper heads, and laid before the reader in a condensed form. Systematical works have some advantages over dictionaries as repositories for this sort of information; but, on the whole, the latter are decidedly the most useful. When arranged in alphabetical order, they are easy of consultation; at the same time that the statements in them, if they be properly compiled, are precise, authentic, and not depending on anything

else. But how useful and important soever, we believe it will be pretty generally admitted that the greater number of these publications that have hitherto appeared in this country have not been of a kind to inspire confidence. The authors have seldom referred to the sources whence their statements were derived; so that the reader has nothing better to trust to, than the authority of, perhaps, an anonymous compiler; at the same time that he is deprived of the means of readily verifying his facts, or of referring to the original authorities for further information. These works have mostly also been compiled either on too contracted or too extensive a plan; so that while, in the one case, the reader was frequently not supplied with important information, in the other, the book became at once too bulky, costly, and inconvenient. Another defect by which most Geographical Dictionaries published in Great Britain have been characterized, is the disproportioned size of the parts, or the preponderance given to minor articles and uninteresting topics, while those having reference to great countries, or important places or subjects, have often been reduced in a more than corresponding degree. It is difficult, indeed, to hinder the descriptions of towns in a Geographical Dictionary from extending beyond their fair proportion of the work; but still they may be confined within reasonable limits, and without displaying the glaring anomaly of a capital city, for example, occupying a greater space than that of the country in which it is situated.

During the compilation of the Commercial Dictionary, the author of this work having had occasion to refer to a good many Geographical Dictionaries, it occurred to him that he might, perhaps, be able to produce one that should be more generally accurate and useful. This, however, would not have been enough. The improved state of geographical knowledge, and the increasing relations of this country with others, required that any work aspiring to the character of a book of reference, should be wholly drawn up from original sources, and rendered as authentic and instructive as possible.

It is necessary, however, to observe, that we have not attempted to supply the reader with a complete Geographical and Statistical Dictionary. Such a work would necessarily extend to many volumes, and would embrace multitudinous details nowise interesting to the great majority of readers. Our object has been of a more limited kind. Being intended for the especial use of Englishmen, we have dwelt at greatest length on those articles, and on those parts of articles, we thought most likely to interest them. Hence we have appropriated a much larger space to articles connected with our Eastern possessions, and our colonies in different parts of the world, than they may appear, on other grounds, properly entitled to. On the same principle, we have lengthened the accounts of those countries and places with which our countrymen have the greatest intercourse, or which have acquired celebrity by the historical associations connected with them; and have proportionally shortened the others.

Without neglecting the physical geography of the different countries and places, we have directed our principal attention to their industry, institutions, and the conditions of their inhabitants. Neither have we attempted to confine ourselves within what might perhaps, be called the limits of a strictly Geographical and Statistical work. Wherever the occasion seemed to justify it, we have not scrupled to commend and censure, as well as to describe; and have endeavoured to appreciate the influence of institutions and habits on national welfare. The historical notices are necessarily very brief, and are, unless in the more important articles, mostly restricted to an enumeration of leading events.

Our object being to supply a work of easy reference to the public at large, we have, in general, given our notices of countries and places under the names by which they are most commonly known in England. This does not involve any want of scientific precision; though if it did, it would be more than countervailed by its being better adapted to the public use. Among the many thousands, who might wish, for example, to acquire some infor-

mation respecting the present state of the Dead Sea, there are not, perhaps, as many dozens who would think of seeking for it under the head *Bahr-el-Lout*, the Arabic name for that famous sea.

It did not enter into our plan to notice countries or places as they existed in antiquity. But, wherever we thought that such notices would be likely to interest the general reader, we have not hesitated to introduce them. Our object, in fact, was not so much to compile a dictionary on strictly scientific principles, and that should be perfectly homogeneous in its parts, as to produce one that might be relied on, that should omit few articles of importance, and that ordinary readers should find generally interesting.

None can be more fully satisfied than we are of the great difficulty of accomplishing even this much. In a work embracing so great a variety of statements as to matters in regard to which it is frequently all but impossible to acquire correct information, perfect accuracy need not be looked for. But we can honestly say that we have spared no pains to make our work worthy of the reader's confidence; and would fain hope that the errors that may be detected in it are not such as sensibly to detract from its utility.

The distances between one place and another are generally, unless where the contrary is stated, *direct*. They have been measured on the best maps—mostly on those of Mr. John Arrowsmith, the accuracy and excellence of which are universally admitted.

It remains only to add, that the work will appear in monthly parts. It is impossible, at this moment, to specify its precise limits, but it will be confined within the smallest possible compass.

*** Part I. will be published on the 15th February, price 5s. with a Map.

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THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

JOHN.

CONDITION OF IRELAND DURING THE REIGN OF KING JOHN. — THE DISSENSIONS AMONG THE NATIVES FOMENTED BY THE GREAT ENGLISH LORDS. — CONTENTION BETWEEN CATHAL AND CARRACH FOR THE PRINCIPALITY OF CONNAUGHT — EACH ABETTED BY ENGLISH AUXILIARIES. — TWO THIRDS OF THAT PROVINCE SURRENDERED BY CATHAL TO KING JOHN. — RIVALRY BETWEEN JOHN DE COURCY AND HUGH DE LACY. — DE COURCY SENT PRISONER TO ENGLAND. — THE EARLDOM OF ULSTER TRANSFERRED, ON HIS DEATH, TO DE LACY. — MURDER OF DE COURCY'S NATURAL SON BY ONE OF THE DE LACYS. — EXPEDITION OF KING JOHN TO IRELAND. — SUBMISSION OF MANY OF THE IRISH CHIEFS. — EFFECT OF HIS PRESENCE UPON THE ENGLISH BARONS. — PANIC AND FLIGHT OF WILLIAM DE BRAOSA AND THE TWO DE LACYS. — OUTRAGE COMMITTED BY THE SEPTS OF WICKLOW. — INTRODUCTION BY JOHN OF ENGLISH LAWS AND USAGES INTO IRELAND. — HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND. — ADMINISTRATION OF DE GREY. — PEACE IN IRELAND.

The reign of king John, which, in the hands of the English historian, presents so proud and stirring an example of successful resistance to wrong, exhibits, in our Irish records, but a melancholy picture of slavery and suffering. Some brief struggles were, indeed, attempted, in the course of this reign, by the natives; but, while fondly persuading themselves that, in these efforts, they

fought in their own cause, they were, really, but instruments in the hands of some rival English lords, who, by exciting and assisting the native chieftains against each other, divided and weakened the national strength, and thereby advanced their own violent and rapacious views.

A.D. 1198. Thus, when, on the death of the monarch Roderic, his two sons broke out into fierce contention for the right of succession, William de Burgh, a baron of the family of Fitz-Adelm, espoused the cause of the brother named Carrach, while John de Courcy and Walter de Lacy were seen to range themselves on the side of Cathal of the Bloody Hand*; and a signal victory gained over the latter and his English auxiliaries, at Kilmacduagh, appeared, for a time, to have finally decided the contest. As the alliance, however, of William de Burgh had been chiefly the means of insuring Carrach's success, there was yet a chance that this powerful lord might be brought to desert the chief's cause, and that thus the fortunes of the discomfited Cathal might again 1200. be retrieved. Speculating, justly, as it appears, on the selfish views of De Burgh, this prince held forth to him such prospects of gain and advantage, as succeeded in winning him over from the banner of his rival.† With the aid of so disreputable an alliance, Cathal again took the field against his brother, and, after a sanguinary action, in the course of which Carrach was slain, regained his principality.‡

Down to this period, the province of Connaught, the hereditary kingdom of the last Irish monarch, had, however torn by civil dissension, continued to preserve its territorial integrity, as guaranteed by the solemn treaty between Henry and king Roderic. But at the crisis we have now reached, this inviolability of the realm of the O'Connors was set aside, and through the act of its own reigning prince. Whether from weari-

* See Vol. II. chap. xxxii. of this Work, pp. 335. 338.

† Ware's Annals, ad. an. 1200.

‡ Annal. Inisfall. The Book of Clonmacnoise, at the years 1201-2, commemorates a number of achievements performed by Cathal, in conjunction with William de Burgh.

ness of the constant dissensions he had been involved in, or, perhaps, hoping that by the cession of a part of his territories he might secure a more valid title to the remainder, Cathal, of his own free will, agreed to surrender * to king John two parts of Connaught, and to hold the third from him in vassalage, paying annually for it the sum of 100 marks. The letter of king John †, wherein the terms of this compact are stated and agreed to, is addressed to Meyler Fitz-Henry, who was, at this time, justiciary or lord justice of Ireland, and whose name is associated with the earliest adventures of the Anglo-Normans in this island. A. D. 1205.

The mischief of the policy pursued by Henry II., in deputing to an upstart and suddenly enriched aristocracy (the most odious, perhaps, of all forms of political power) the administration of his Irish possessions, was in few instances more strikingly exemplified than in the rivalry, which now had reached its most disturbing height, between John de Courcy and the rich and powerful baron, Hugh de Lacy, son of the first lord of Meath. Following the example of De Courcy himself, this baron had assumed, for some time, a state of princely independence, entering into treaties with his brother lords and the native chiefs, and aiding the latter in their local and provincial feuds.

On the accession, however, of John to the English throne, the daring openness with which De Courcy spoke of that event, as well as of the dark and guilty deed by which it was followed, drew down upon him the king's heaviest wrath; and to his rival, Hugh de Lacy, now made lord justice, was committed the not unwelcome task of seizing the rebellious baron, and sending him prisoner to England. What was ultimately the fate of this hardy warrior we have no trustworthy means of ascertaining.‡ The stories told § of his

* Close Roll, 6 John.

† This letter is given by Leland at full length, p. 175.

‡ According to the Annals of Inisfallen, he was slain by the De Lacys, Hammer, whom Lodge follows, makes him die in France.

§ By Holinshed, Campion, and others.

subsequent adventures in England, his acceptance of the challenge of the champion of France, and his display of prowess in the presence of the two kings, are all not only fabulous in themselves, but wholly at variance with known historical events. That he did not succeed, as some have alleged, in regaining his place in the royal favour, may be taken for granted from the fact that, though he left a son to inherit his possessions, both the title and property of the earldom of Ulster were, on his
A. D. decease, transferred to his rival, Hugh de Lacy.* Nor
1205. did the hatred he had awakened in this family die with himself, but extended also to his race; as we find that, not many years after, a natural son of his, who bore the title of lord of Ratheny and Kilbarrock, was assassinated in cold blood, by one of the De Lacys. †

In the year 1210, king John, with the view, chiefly, as it would seem, of diverting the minds of his people from the depressing effects of the papal interdict which now hung like a benumbing spell over his
1210. kingdom, undertook a military expedition against Scotland; and, having succeeded in that quarter, led, soon after, a numerous army into Ireland.‡ Between the exactions and cruelties of the English on one side, and the constant revolts and fierce reprisals of the maddened natives on the other, a sufficient case for armed intervention was doubtless then, as it has been at almost all periods since, but too easily found. The very display, however, of so large a force was, of itself, sufficient to produce a temporary calm. No less than twenty, we are told, of the Irish princes, or chiefs, came to pay homage to the monarch, among whom were O'Neill of Tyrone, and the warlike Cathal, prince of Connaught;

* Pat. Roll, 6 John. † Annal. Hibern. apud Camden.

‡ To defray the expenses of this expedition, he had seized and plundered the wretched Jews, all over England; and the memorable torture inflicted upon a Jew at Bristol, by striking out, every day, one of his cheek-teeth, was for the purpose of forcing him to pay down 10,000 marks towards the cost of the Irish expedition. The religious house of Margam, in Wales, was specially exempted from the general exaction levied on this occasion, in consequence of the hospitality extended by its inmates to Henry and his army, both on their way to Ireland, and on their return. — *Annal. de Margam.*

the latter offering, for the first time, his homage as a vassal of the English crown.* After remaining but two days in Dublin†, the king proceeded to Carrickfergus, the ancient castle of which town he took possession of, and fixed his abode there for ten days.‡

While thus auspicious appears to have been the effect of the presence of royalty upon the natives, it produced, in a different way, no less salutary consequences, by the check it gave to the career of some of those rapacious barons, compared to whose multiform misrule the tyranny of one would have been hailed as a blessing. Among these, one of the most impracticable had been William de Breuse, or Braosa, to whom the king, soon after his accession, had made a grant of estates in the south of Ireland. Struck with panic at the consciousness of his own misdeeds, this lord took flight precipitately from the kingdom, leaving his wife and daughter at the mercy of the monarch, who, when at Carrickfergus §, had them both taken into custody, and brought them over with him, on his return into England. At Bristol, he yielded so far to the lady's entreaties, as to allow an interview between her and her husband ||; but she is said to have been afterwards, by his order, imprisoned in Windsor Castle, and, together with her son, inhumanly starved to death.

The two De Lacys, alarmed at the arrival of the king in Ireland, took flight into France, and there found employment, as garden labourers, in the abbey of St. Taurin. In this retreat they had remained concealed for two or three years, when the abbot, induced, by some circumstances, to suspect their real rank, drew

* Walsingham represents Cathal as having been, at this time, conquered and reduced by John. "In suam ditionem redegit totam terram Catalo rege Conacciæ triumphato."—*Ypodig Neustriæ.* But the Annals of Inisfallen, with more correctness, state it to have been an act of willing homage. "Cathal Crob-Dearg, king of Connaught, came with a great retinue to pay his court to king John." See, for John taking Cathal under his protection, Rymer, tom. i. p. 136.

† Itinerary of King John. ‡ Ibid.

§ Rex Johannes transfretavit in Hiberniam et cepit ibi castrum Krakefergus. — *Chronic. Thomæ Wikes.* See also *Itinerary.*

|| Letter of king John. See *Description of the Patent Rolls*, &c., by Thomas D. Hardy, F.S.A. Our histories in general represent De Braosa as being at this time in France.

forth from themselves the particulars of their story; and then, by appealing, in their behalf, to the clemency of John, succeeded in prevailing upon him to receive them again into favour. On condition of Walter paying 2500 marks for Meath, and Hugh, on his part, paying 4000 marks for the earldom of Ulster, the two brothers were both reinstated in their possessions. * In grateful acknowledgment of the service rendered him by the abbot of St. Taurin, Walter de Lacy, in returning to Ireland, brought with him the abbot's nephew, and, after making him a knight, bestowed upon him the seignory of Dingle. †

By a writ to his barons and justices, in the ninth year of his reign, John had ordered that measures should be taken for the expulsion from the king's lands of all robbers and plunderers, and all such persons as harboured them ‡; and an instance of outrage, said to have occurred about the same time, will show how daring was the spirit of lawlessness then abroad, even in the neighbourhood of the chief seat of English power. The population of the city of Dublin, at this time, appears to have consisted, for the most part, of colonists from Bristol, who, induced by the grant which Henry II. had so unceremoniously made of Dublin to the Bristolians, established themselves there in great numbers. These citizens having, on the Monday of Easter week, flocked out from the town, for air and recreation, towards a place still called Cullen's Wood, were there attacked by some lawless septs, inhabiting the mountains in the neighbourhood of Wicklow, and no less than 300 of the assemblage, exclusive of women and children, inhumanly butchered. § In commemoration of this massacre, it continued long after to be the custom of the citizens of Dublin to hold a feast every year, on Easter Monday, upon the spot where the memorable outrage had been committed. There, pitching their numerous tents, the citizens passed

A. D. 1209

* Pat. Roll, 17 John.
‡ Pat. Roll, 9 John.
† Annal Hibern. apud Camden.
§ Hanmer.

the day in sports and recreation; and, among other modes of celebrating the occasion, used to challenge, from time to time, the "mountain enemy" to come forth and attack them, if he dared.*

To introduce into the new territories of which they possessed themselves the laws and usages of the country they had left, would be naturally a favourite object of the first settlers in Ireland; and in this civilising process Henry II., though so limited in time for his task, made very considerable progress. Thus, for instance, the duties, conditions, and services by which, under the feudal system, property was held in England, continued to be the grounds of tenure in all the grants made by him in locating his new colony. The establishment, also, of courts baron, by the respective lords to whom he had granted lands, implies, manifestly, the adoption among them of the common law of England; and it appears, from a record of the reign of Edward III., that Hugh de Lacy, from the time of the grant to him of the territory of Meath by Henry II., held and enjoyed all jurisdictions and cognizance of all pleas within that district.† In the incorporation charter which John, as lord of Ireland, granted to the city of Dublin, in the year 1192, we find the principle of burgage tenure established, — the messuages, plantations, and buildings, within the metes of the city, having been granted to the burgesses, "to be held by them in free burgage, and by the service of landgable which they render within the walls."‡

When John, for the second time, now landed upon the Irish shore, not finding any enemy to encounter his mighty force, he was left the more leisure to attend to

* In process of time the singing boys of the cathedral were deputed to offer this defiance (Stuart, *Hist. Memoirs of Armagh*, ch. viii.); and the choirs, says Leland, are annually regaled at this place, called the Wood of Cullen, to the present day.

† Chancery Roll, Dublin, cited by Lynch, *View of Legal Institutions*, p. 6.

‡ Gale, *Inquiry into the Ancient Corporate System of Ireland, Appendix*, iv. "Nor should it be concealed that, from the beginning of his reign, this inconsistent prince (John) had shown a singular readiness to convert demesne towns into corporate boroughs; — a measure inimical to all despotism." — *Roger Wendover.*

the civil condition of the realm; and not only did he give to the laws and institutions which he found there already established a more extended scope and exercise, but he had, also, the merit of introducing others of no less import to the future wellbeing of the settlement.* Some writers, it is true, have asserted that on this monarch's accession to the throne, he found the laws of England already in full operation throughout his Irish dominions. But there seems little doubt that to him is to be attributed, besides other useful measures, the division of such parts of the kingdom as were in his possession into shires, or counties†, with their respective sheriffs and other officers, after the manner of England; and that the first sterling money circulated in Ireland was coined under his direction.‡

We need look, indeed, for no stronger evidence of the important share which this prince, in other respects so odious, took in the great task of transplanting his country's laws and institutions into Ireland, than is found in a record of the reign of his successor, Henry III., wherein it is set forth § that "John brought with him into Ireland discreet men, skilled in the laws, by whose advice he commanded the laws of England to be observed in Ireland, and left the said laws reduced into writing, under his seal, in the Exchequer of Dublin." Having provided thus for the better administration of that kingdom's affairs, and in so far redeemed the disgrace of his former experiment, the king set sail for England, leaving to John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, whom he had appointed lord justice, the task of carrying all these measures into effect; and

* Mathew Paris. — Henry de Knyghton, — Walter de Hemingford, &c. "Statuitque ibidem (says Henry de Knyghton) legem Anglicanam, et ut omnia eorum judicia, secundum eandem, vel Anglicanam consuetudinem terminarentur."

† Of the counties of Ireland, says Ware, "twelve were erected in Leinster and Munster, by king John; viz. Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel (or Louth), Catherlough (or Carlow), Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary."

‡ Some of the coins of John were struck before his accession to the throne. Those which he caused to be struck at this time (1210) consisted of pennies, half-pence, and farthings, of the same standard as the English, which gives twenty-two and a half grains to the penny. — Lindsay's *View of the Coinage of Ireland.*

§ See this writ in Cox, p. 51.

such was the tranquillising influence, both of his policy and of the skill and vigour with which he administered it, that, when the French king, shortly after, threatened an invasion of England, the lord justice was enabled to spare from the force under his command a company of knights and 300 infantry, to aid the cause of his royal master.*

Throughout the remainder of this monarch's reign, which passed in a series of struggles, as dishonouring as they were disastrous, first with the pope, and then with his own turbulent barons, there appears to have been no effort made by his subjects in Ireland, whether English or native, to turn the embarrassments of his position to account for the advancement of their own several interests and views. On the contrary, in defiance of all ordinary speculation, — and a similar anomaly presents itself at more than one crisis of our history, — while England was affording an example of rebellion and riot, which mere neighbourhood, it might be supposed, would have rendered infectious, the sister country meanwhile looked quietly on, and remained in unbroken peace. There are extant, indeed, letters of John, written at the time when the English barons were in arms against his authority, returning thanks to the barons of Ireland for their fidelity and service to him, and asking their advice respecting some arduous affairs in which he was then engaged.† It appears, also, from an order addressed at this time to the archbishop of Dublin, that seasonable presents to the native princes and chiefs were among the means adopted for keeping them in good humour; that prelate having been commissioned to purchase, forthwith, a sufficient quantity of scarlet cloth, to be made into robes for the Irish kings, and others of the native grandees.‡

* Cox.

† Several of such writs from the crown, during this reign, asking "consilium et auxilium" of the nobles of Ireland, may be found among the records in the Tower.

‡ Rymer, tom. i. — Presents of cloth were sometimes made to the chiefs in acknowledgment of their authority; and so late as the middle of the fifteenth century, we find John May, on being appointed archbishop of

As in the contentions between John and his barons the people of Ireland had taken no part, so neither in the Charter of Liberties wrung from him by those turbulent nobles did his Irish subjects enjoy any immediate com-
A.D. munion or share. There were, notwithstanding, present,
1215. on the side of the king, at Runnymede, two eminent personages, Henri de Londres*, and William, earl marshal†, who might both, from their respective stations, be naturally looked to as representatives of Irish interests; De Londres being archbishop of Dublin, and at this time justiciary of Ireland, while the lord marshal was a baron of immense hereditary possessions in that country. By neither, however, of these great lords, does any claim appear to have been advanced in behalf of the king's Irish subjects, nor any effort made to include them specifically in the grants and privileges accorded by the charter.

The same respite, however, from civil strife, continued through the remainder of John's inglorious reign; and the chief merit of this unusual calm may doubtless be attributed to the talent and judgment of Henri de Londres and Geoffry de Marisco, to whom, successively, and, for a time, jointly, during this interval, was intrusted the task of administering the affairs of the realm.

Armagh, presenting to O'Neil, prince of Ulster, six yards of good cloth for his (O'Neil's) investiture, and three yards of like cloth for his wife's tunic. — *Regist. Armach.*

* It is told of this prelate, that, having called together his tenants, for the purpose of learning, as he alleged, by what title they held their lands, he thus got possession of all their leases, and other evidences of their property, and then consigned the whole to the flames; for which act, it is added, he was nicknamed "Scorch villain," or "Burn-bill" (as Holinshed explains it), by the natives. — See this idle story, with all its redundant particulars, in Hanmer's Chronicle.

† The founder of Tintern Abbey, in the county of Wexford. This lord, being in great danger at sea, made a vow to found an abbey on whatever spot he should reach in safety. His bark found shelter in Bannow bay, and he religiously performed his vow, filling the abbey which he there founded with Cistercian monks, brought from Tintern, in Monmouthshire.— Archdall, *Monast. Hibern.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

HENRY III.

ACCESSION OF HENRY III. — GRANT OF THE GREAT CHARTER TO HIS ENGLISH SUBJECTS IN IRELAND. — EXCLUSION OF THE NATIVES FROM ALL SHARE OF ENGLISH LAWS AND LIBERTIES — INDIVIDUAL EXCEPTIONS. — HOSTILITIES BETWEEN HUGH DE LACY AND THE EARL OF PEMBROKE. — SURRENDER OF THEIR PRINCIPALITIES BY THE IRISH CHIEFS — AGREE TO HOLD THEM IN FUTURE AS TENANTS OF THE CROWN. — BREACH OF FAITH ON THE PART OF THE KING TOWARDS CATHAL. — VISIT OF FEIDLIM, PRINCE OF CONNAUGHT, TO THE ENGLISH KING. — REBELLION AND DEATH OF RICHARD, EARL MARSHAL. — IRISH FORCES EMPLOYED BY THE KING IN HIS WARFARE AGAINST WALES. — ADMISSION OF A FEW NATIVES TO THE PARTICIPATION OF ENGLISH LAW. — THREATENED INVASION OF THE KING'S DOMINIONS IN GASCONY, AND PRESSING REQUESTS FOR AID FROM IRELAND. — GRANT BY HENRY OF THE LORDSHIP OF IRELAND TO HIS SON, PRINCE EDWARD. — IMPORTANT RESERVATIONS IN THAT GRANT. — PROBABILITY THAT PRINCE EDWARD VISITED IRELAND. — RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES WITH WALES. — GENERAL RISING OF THE MAC CARTHYS OF DESMOND — A NUMBER OF GERALDINE LORDS AND KNIGHTS PUT TO DEATH BY THEM — FALL OUT AMONG THEMSELVES AND ARE CRUSHED. — DISSENSIONS ALSO BETWEEN THE DE BURGHS AND THE GERALDINES. — A PARLIAMENT, OR COUNCIL, HELD AT KILKENNY, AND PEACE RESTORED BETWEEN THESE TWO FAMILIES. — ADMINISTRATION OF SIR ROBERT DE UFFORD.

THE new monarch being but ten years old when he ascended the throne, it became necessary to appoint a guardian both of the king and of the realm; and the earl of Pembroke, who, as marshal of England, was already at the head of the armies, and who, though faithful to the fortunes of John, had yet retained the respect of the people, was, by a general council of his brother barons, appointed protector of the realm. To this nobleman, in addition to his immense possessions

A.D. 1216.

in England and Wales, had devolved, by his marriage with Isabella, daughter and heiress of earl Strongbow, the lordship, or rather royal palatinate, of Leinster. Having, personally, therefore, so deep an interest in the prosperity of the English settlement, it could little be doubted that affairs connected with that country's welfare would, under his government, become objects of special attention.

Accordingly, one of the first measures of the new reign was to transmit to Ireland a duplicate of the instrument by which, in a grand council held at Bristol, Henry had renewed and ratified the great Charter of Liberty granted by his father. Neither had the English settlers themselves been so little alive to the favourable prospect, which a reign, opening under the auspices of the lord of Leinster, presented, as not to avail themselves of the first opportunity of making an appeal to the consideration of the throne. Shortly after the king's accession, they had laid before him, through the medium of one of his chaplains, Ralph of Norwich, a statement of the grievances under which they laboured; and it was in about seven weeks after that the duplicate of the renowned English charter was transmitted to them *, "sealed," says the letter of Henry, which accompanied it, "with the seals of our lord Gualo, legate of the apostolical see, and of our trusty earl, William Marshall, our governor, and the governor of our kingdom, — because as yet we possess no seal."†

There prevailed a notion, it is evident, through the few first reigns of the Anglo-Irish period, that the kingdom of Ireland ought to have for its ruler some member of the reigning family of England. An unsuccessful trial of this experiment took place, as we have seen, under Henry Plantagenet; and the reign at present occupying our attention exhibits an equally injudicious partition of the royal title and power; the first suggestion of such a plan having originated with the Irish barons

* Pat. Roll, 1 Henry III.
† Quia sigillum nondum habuimus.

themselves, who, in the memorial addressed by them to Henry, on his accession*, desired, among other requests, that either the queen dowager or the king's brother should be sent to reside in that country.

In giving an account of the transmission to Ireland, by Henry III., of a copy or duplicate of the great charter, historians have left it too much to be implied that the charters for both countries were exactly the same; without any, even, of those adaptations and compliances which the variance in customs between the two countries would reasonably require. The language of Henry himself, in transmitting the document, somewhat favours this view of the transaction. But such was not likely to have been the mode in which an instrument, then deemed so important, was framed. Among the persons by whose advice it had been granted were William Marshall, lord of Leinster, Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, John, lord marshal of Ireland†, and several other noblemen, all connected, as lords of the soil and public functionaries, with Ireland, and intimately acquainted with the peculiar laws and customs of the land. As might naturally be expected, therefore, several minute but not unimportant differences are found to exist between the two charters: some in the forms, for instance, of administering justice; others in the proceedings for the advowsons of churches; and some arising out of the peculiar Irish custom as to dowers; while all imply, in those who drew up the document, a desire to accommodate the laws of the new settlers to the customs and usages of the country in which they were located.‡ A. D. 1216.

It appears strange, however, that any such deference for the native customs and institutions should be shown by legislators, who yet left the natives themselves almost wholly out of their consideration; the

* Close Roll, 1 Henry III.

† Nephew of the lord William Marshall, and appointed by king John to the marshalsea of all Ireland, in the ninth year of his reign.

‡ Lynch, *View of the Legal Institutions, &c. established in Ireland*, chap. 2.

monstrous fact being, that the actual people of Ireland were wholly excluded from any share in the laws and measures by which their own country was to be thus disposed of and governed. Individual exceptions, indeed, to this general exclusion of the natives, occur so early as the time of king John*, during whose reign there appear "charters" of English laws and liberties, to such of the natives as thought it necessary to obtain them; and it is but just to say of John, as well as of his immediate successors, Henry and Edward, that they endeavoured, each of them, to establish a community of laws among all the inhabitants of the country. But the foreign lords of the land were opposed invariably to this wise and just policy; and succeeded in substituting for it a monstrous system of outlawry and proscription, the disturbing effects of which were continued down from age to age, nor have ceased to be felt and execrated even to the present day.

The desire of plunder, which had hitherto united the English settlers against the natives, was now, by a natural process, dividing the enriched English among themselves. The first very violent interruption of the peace that occurred in Henry's reign arose out of the rival pretensions of two powerful barons, Hugh de Lacy and the young William earl of Pembroke, the latter of whom, on the death of his father, in 1219, had succeeded to his vast Irish possessions. Some part of the lands which thus descended to him having been claimed, as rightfully his own, by De Lacy, the arbitrement of the sword was appealed to, in preference to that of the law, and fierce hostilities between them ensued; in the course of which, Trim † was besieged by Pembroke, and gallantly defended, and the counties of Leinster and Meath were alternately laid waste. The powerful chief

A. D. 1220.

* So early as the year 1216, John had laid a precedent for this sort of charters, by his grant of "English law and liberty" to Donald O'Neill.—Pat. Roll, 17 John.

† It is generally believed that the still existing castle of Trim was built by the younger De Lacy, soon after this siege.

of Tyrone, O'Neill, lent his aid, in this war of plunder, to De Lacy.*

How little of fairness or good faith the wretched natives had to expect in their dealings with the foreigner, was, about this time, made but too warningly manifest. Regarding the throne as their only refuge against the swarm of petty tyrants by whom they were harassed, more than one of the great Irish captains now followed the example of Cathal of Connaught, in formally surrendering to the king their ancient principalities, and then receiving back a portion by royal grant, to be held in future by them as tenants of the English crown; — thus making a sacrifice of part of their hereditary rights, in order to enjoy, as they hoped, more securely what remained. In this manner O'Brian, prince of Thomond, A. D. received from Henry a grant of part of that territory, for 1221. which he was to pay a yearly rent of 130 marks.† The fate of Connaught, however, held forth but scanty encouragement to those inclined to rely on such specious compacts. In despite of the solemn engagement entered into by king John‡, in the year 1219, assuring to Cathal the safe possession of a third part of Connaught, on the condition of his surrendering the other two parts to the king, the whole of that province was now, by a grant of Henry III., bestowed upon Richard de Burgh, — the factious baron who had caused so much trouble to the crown, in the reign of king John, — to be taken possession of by him after Cathal's death.

This violation of public faith was not allowed to pass 1223. unresisted or unrevenged. On the death of Cathal, which occurred soon after, the people of his province, regardless of Henry's grant, and supported by the ever ready sword of O'Neill, proceeded to elect a successor to the chieftainship, and conferred that dignity upon Tir-

* Hanmer.

† Cox. According to Leland, but, I think, incorrectly, the payment was a yearly rent of 100*l.* and a fine of 1000 marks. "This was the only grant (says Cox) made by the crown of England to any mere Irishman to that time, excepting that to the king of Connaught."

‡ Cox.

logh, Cathal's brother. So daring a defiance of the will of the government called down on the offenders the vengeance of the lord justice, Geoffrey de Marisco; and a long furious struggle ensued, during which, the sovereignty of Connaught, after having passed from Tirlogh to Aedh, a son of Cathal, settled at last on the brow of Feidlim, another son of that prince.

However fertile were these dark times in acts of injustice, violence, and treachery, there are few events in which all these qualities can be found more odiously exemplified, than in the melancholy fate of the young Richard, earl marshal, son of the late protector of the realm. This lord, having incurred the resentment of Henry, by joining in a confederacy against him, with the earl of Cornwall and other malcontent lords, found himself, without trial, deprived of his high office of marshal, and was forced to retire for safety into Wales; where, entering into an alliance with Llewellyn and other chiefs of that province, he successfully defended one of his own castles that had been attacked by the king's troops, and made reprisals on the royal territories in return.

A.D. 1233.

To repress such daring movements by force, would have been, on the king's part, no more than an exercise of the natural right of self-defence. But treachery was the means employed to get rid of this refractory young lord. By the base contrivance, as it is said, of the bishop of Winchester, Henry's chief adviser, letters under the king's seal, fradulently obtained, were sent to the lord justice, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, to Hugh and Walter de Lacy, Richard de Burgh, Geoffry de Marisco, and others of the Irish barons, informing them that Richard, late earl marshal of England, having been proscribed, banished, and deprived of his estates, by the king, yet still continuing in rebellion against his authority, it was required of these lords, that should Richard by chance land in Ireland, they should forthwith seize upon his person, and send him, dead or alive, to the king. In consideration, it was added,

of this service, all the possessions and lands that had devolved to Richard in Ireland, and were now at the king's disposal, would by him be granted to them and their heirs for ever.*

So tempting a bribe, to men brought up in no very scrupulous notions of right and wrong, could not fail to appeal with irresistible effect; and, from thenceforth, no art or treachery appears to have been spared to lure the victim into their toils. In order to induce him to pass over into Ireland, exaggerated accounts were conveyed to him of the force of his immediate adherents; together with secret assurances of support from many of the barons themselves. Thus deceived as to the extent of his resources, he rashly ventured over with a guard of but fifteen followers, and, immediately on his arrival, was waited upon by the chief actor in the plot, Geoffrey de Marisco; who, reminding him of his ancient rights, and of the valiant blood flowing in his veins, advised him to avenge the insults he had received by attacking the king's territories without delay. This advice the unsuspecting young earl adopted; and, taking the field with whatever force he could hastily collect, succeeded in recovering some of his own castles, and got possession of the city of Limerick after a siege of but four days.† A.D. 1334.

Still further to carry on the delusion till all should be ripe for his ruin, the treacherous barons now affected alarm at the success of his arms, as threatening danger to the king's government; and, proposing a truce, requested an interview with him for the purpose of arranging the terms. To this, little suspecting the treachery that hung over him, the gallant young earl assented; and, attended by Geoffrey de Marisco and about a hundred followers, proceeded to the place of conference on the great plain of Kildare. But it was soon manifest that he had been decoyed thither only to be betrayed. The pretence of a conference had been devised with

* Mathew Paris.

† "Limeric quoque famosam Hiberniæ civitatem quadriduana cepit obsidione."—*Mathew Paris.*

the sole view of provoking a conflict: and the signal for onset having been given on the side of the barons, Richard found himself suddenly deserted by his perfidious prompter, De Marisco, who, drawing off eighty of the earl's band, left him with little more than the fifteen followers who had accompanied him from Wales, to stand the shock of a force ten times their number. Even thus abandoned and beset, the earl marshal kept his ground, till at length unhorsed, and attacked by a traitor from behind, who plunged a dagger up to the hilt into his back, he fell, all but lifeless, on the field; and being conveyed from thence to one of his own castles, which had just fallen into the hands of the justiciary, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, breathed his last, in the midst of enemies, with only a youth of his own household to watch over him in his dying moments.*

A. D. 1234. Richard was one of five brothers, the sons of the protector Pembroke, who all lived to be earls of Pembroke, and all died childless; in consequence of which default of heirs, the high and warlike house of Marshal became extinct. The death of this gallant nobleman, from the peculiar circumstances attending it, created a strong sensation, not only throughout Ireland, but in England, where he was looked up to, says Matthew Paris, as "the very flower of the chivalry of modern times."†

* "Cum uno tantum juvene de suis inter hostes remansit." — *Mathew Paris.* This story of the last days and death of the earl Richard occupies in the diffuse narrative of the old historian no less than fourteen or fifteen folio pages.

† "Militiæ flos temporum modernorum." The following are tributes to his fame from contemporary writers:—

"Anglia plange, Marescallum plangens lachrymare
Causa subest, quare quia pro te planxit amare.
Virtus militiæ, patriæ protectio," &c. &c.
Verses in the Annals of Waverly, ad. ann. 1234.

"Tho wende Richard the marschal, that of Pembroc erl was,
Into Irlonde to worri, in luther time alas!
* * * * *
Wat seiste,' quoth this gode erl, 'wan Richard the marschal
Upe is stede iarmed is, & atiled thoru out al,
& toward is fon in the feld hath is wombe iwent,
Ssold he turne hom is rugh? he has neuere so issent.
Vor he ne dude it neuere, ne neuere iwis ne ssal.
Fram such ssendnesse Crist ssulde Richard the Marssal.'"
Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.

Among the few legislative measures, directed to peaceful or useful objects, that greet the course of the historian through these times, must be mentioned a writ addressed by the king to his chief justice in Ireland, for free commerce between the subjects of both kingdoms*, without any impediment or restraint; — a measure which "some," it is added, "endeavoured to hinder, to the great prejudice of both."†

The rapacity and violence which had marked the conduct of De Burgh and his kinsman, throughout these contests, had been made known to Henry through various channels. Among others, Feidlim, the new dynast of Connaught, had addressed the king confidentially on the subject‡, and requested leave to visit him in England, for the purpose of consulting with him on their mutual interests and concerns. After due deliberation, on the part of Henry, the conference with his royal brother of Connaught was accorded; and, so successfully did Feidlim plead his own suit, and expose the injustice of the grasping family opposed to him, that the king wrote to Maurice Fitz-Gerald, then lord justice, and, with a floridness of style, caught, as it would seem, from his new Irish associates, desired that he would "pluck up by the root that fruitless sycamore, De Burgh, which the earl of Kent, in the insolence of his power, had planted in those parts, nor suffer it to bud forth any longer."§ A. D. 1240.

* Close Roll, 29 Henry III. Walter Hemingford, a chronicler, who himself lived in this reign, and of whom Leland (*Comment. de Script. Britann.*) says, that he narrated the events of his own time with the greatest care ("summa curâ"), yet states, that an army was led by the king at this time into Ireland, in consequence of the expedition thither of earl Richard, and that, having pacified the country, after that lord's death, he returned the same year to England!

† Prynne, cap. 76.

‡ Rymer, tom. i. 391. — The following is an extract from Feidlim's letter: — "Grates referimus infinitas; et maxime pro eo quod pro nobis Willielmo de Dene justo vesto Hiberniæ bonæ memoriæ pro restitutione habenda de dampnis nobis per Walterum de Burgo et suam seguelam, in terra nostra de Tyrmara, illatis, devote scripsisti." See also, writ for the safe conduct of Feidlim (ib. 422.), wherein he is styled "Fedlinius O'Canchanir, filius regis Conact."

§ "Ut ipsius iniquæ plantationis, quam Comes Cantiæ Hubertus in illis partibus, dum suâ potentiâ debaccharet, plantavit, infructuosam sicomorum radicitus evulsam, non sineret amplius pullulare."

During the disputes that arose between Henry and two successive sovereigns of Wales, Llewellyn and David, respecting the claim of feudal superiority advanced by the English king, a perpetual warfare continued to be maintained between the borderers of the two nations, which grew, at times, into sufficient importance to call into the field the respective sovereigns themselves. On an occasion of this kind, which occurred in the year 1245, the king, being then hard pressed by the Welsh, and likewise suffering from the intense severity of the winter, summoned to his aid Maurice Fitz-Gerald, with his Irish forces.* A letter written at the time, by a nobleman in Henry's camp, thus gives, with the freshness of a sketch taken at the moment, an account of the state of the English army. "The king with his army lyeth at Gannock, fortifying that strong castle, and we live in our tents, thereby, watching, fasting, praying, and freezing with cold. We watch, for fear of the Welshmen, who are wont to invade and come upon us in the night-time; we fast, for want of meat, for the halfpenny loaf is worth five-pence; we pray to God to send us home speedily; we starve with cold, wanting our winter garments, having no more but a thin linen cloth between us and the wind. There is an arm of the sea under the castle where we lie, whereto the tide cometh, and many ships come up to the haven, which bring victuals to the camp from Ireland and Chester."†

A. D. 1240.

1245.

All this time the king was looking impatiently for the Irish forces. At length their sails, says the chronicler, were descried; the fleet reached the shore; and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and the prince of Connaught, presented themselves in battle array before the king.‡ But the tardiness of the lord justice, on this pressing occasion, was by no means forgiven by his royal master. Among other peculiar rights which the Irish barons, in those times, claimed, it was asserted by them that they were

* Rymer, tom. i. 431. † Mathew Paris. ‡ Ware's *Annals.*

not bound to attend the king beyond the realm ; differing in this from the nobles of England, who were obliged by law to assist the king in his expeditions as well without as within the kingdom. That Henry was aware of the exemption claimed by them, is clear, from the writs issued by him on this occasion having been accompanied by an express declaration that their attendance now should not be brought forward as a precedent.* To mark his displeasure, however, at the lord justice's conduct, he soon after dismissed him from his high office, — notwithstanding some eminent services performed recently by him in Ulster,—and appointed Fitz-Geoffrey de Marisco to be his successor; on which Fitz-Gerald, retiring from the world, took upon him the habit of St. Francis, and dying about ten years after, was buried in the friary of that order, of which he had himself been the founder, at Youghal. He had lived all his life, says Mathew Paris, worthily and laudably, with the sole exception of the mark of infamy left, unjustly, perhaps, upon his name, by the share he was supposed to have taken in the events that led to the melancholy death of earl Richard.

A similar requisition for military aid had been addressed by Henry, the preceding year†, to those Irish dynasts who had made their submission to the English government, desiring that they would join his standard with their respective forces in the expedition then meditated against the Scottish king. A list of the different Irish toparchs to whom this summons was addressed is found appended to the requisition, and they consist of about the same number, and are supposed to have been chiefly the same individuals who hastened to pay homage to king John, on his last expedition into Ireland.

The great charter of liberty communicated by Henry to his Irish subjects, proved, in the hands of those deputed to dispense its benefits, a worthless and barren

* Close Roll, 28 Henry III. † Rymer, tom. i. 318.

gift. In vain were new writs issued, from time to time, by the English monarch, ordering the charter and laws of John to be observed. The absolute will of the petty tyrants among whom the country had been parcelled out, now stood in the place of all law; and so low was the crown compelled to stoop, in submission to a tyranny of its own creating, that, in a writ or mandate sent over by the king in the 30th year of his reign, we find him enjoining his lay and spiritual lords, that, for the sake of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, they should "permit" it to be governed by English law.*

A. D. 1246.

It must at the same time be always kept in mind, that this anxiety to extend to Ireland the benefit of English law, implied by no means a wish to include in that benefit the Irish people. It was only by rare and reluctant exceptions that the few natives admitted to the protection of the conqueror's law were invested with that high privilege. In a writ of Henry, granting this favour to two brothers, Mamorch and Rotheric, care is taken to mark the exception, by an assertion of the general principle; — the writ stating that this favour is conferred upon them notwithstanding that they were Irishmen, and alleging as the grounds of the exception, that they and their forefathers had stood firmly by the English, in their wars against the natives.† This exclusive spirit, on the part of the state, called forth, even thus early, and while yet the two races were of one religion, an antagonist principle on the part of the Irish church, — the only portion of the native community that was still strong enough to make any effectual resistance. In a synod held about the year 1250, the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of Ireland, who were of Irish birth, enacted a decree that no Englishman born should be admitted a canon in any of their churches. A papal

1250.

* "Quod pro pace et tranquillitate ejusdem terræ, per easdem leges eos regi et et deduci permittant." — *Pat. Roll*, 30 Henry III.

† "Quia si ipsi et antecessores sui sic se habuerunt cum Anglicis quamvis Hibernenses, injustum est, *licet Hibernenses sint*, quod," &c. — *Close Roll*, 37 Henry III.

bull, however, issued at the instance of the king, compelled the clergy to rescind this retaliatory act.

There occurred, frequently, in the course of this reign, disputes between England and Scotland, arising out of those pretensions of feudal superiority on the part of England, which were carried to their highest pitch and realised by Henry's heroic successor. Among other preparations for an expected war, at one of those junctures, a writ was addressed by the English monarch to Donald, king of Tyrconnel, and about twenty other great Irish chiefs, requiring them to join him with their respective forces, in an expedition against Scotland.*

Another of those exigencies in which Henry had recourse for assistance to Ireland, occurred in the 38th year of his reign, when, under the apprehension that his dominions in Gascony were about to be invaded by the king of Castile, he issued writs to his lord justice in Ireland, pointing out how fatal to both countries might be the success of such an aggression, and urging him to embark, with all his friends, the following Easter, at Waterford, for the purpose of joining him, with horses, arms, and trusty soldiers, in Gascony. "Never, at any time," he adds, "would their aid and counsel be of such importance to him as the present." The same request was shortly after repeated, in writs directed "to the archbishops, bishops, &c.," whereby queen Elianor acquaints them that she had sent over John Fitz-Geoffry, justiciary of Ireland, to explain to them the state of Gascony and imminent dangers of the crown;" while, in another, they are told that their compliance with these requests will be "a measure redounding to their eternal honour."†

From all this it may fairly be concluded, that, though so backward in many other essential points, this country already, in the peculiar aptitude of its people for military pursuits, contributed largely and usefully to

* Pat. Roll, 28 Henry III. † Pat. Roll, 38 Henry III.

the disposable strength of England for foreign warfare.

In contemplation of the approaching marriage between his son, prince Edward, and the infanta of Spain, Henry made a grant to him and his heirs for ever of the kingdom of Ireland, subjoining certain exceptions, and providing, by an express condition, that Ireland was never to be separated from the English crown.* Not content with this provision, he also, in more than one instance, took care to assert his own jurisdiction, as supreme lord of that land; and even reserved and set aside certain acts of authority, such as the appointment of the lord justice, the issue of a writ of entry out of the Irish Court of Chancery, and one or two other acts of power, which the prince, presuming on his supposed rights, as lord of Ireland, had taken upon him to perform.†

A. D. 1254.

The motive of the monarch, in thus superseding, occasionally, the authority of his son, arose doubtless from the same fear which appears to have influenced Henry II. under similar circumstances, lest the example of a completely separate and independent sovereign of Ireland, might, in after times, be adduced as a precedent for measures affecting the integrity and strength of the whole empire. How far the lot of that country might have been ameliorated or brightened, had prince Edward, as was once intended, gone over thither as lord lieutenant, and assumed personally the administration of its affairs, there is now no use in speculating. That he would have allowed any ordinary scruples, either of justice or humanity, to stand in the way of his stern policy, the course pursued by him afterwards in Scotland sufficiently forbids us to suppose. Whether, among the Irish chiefs of that day, he would have found or called forth a Bruce, a Douglas, or a Randolph, is a

* Rymer. "Ita tamen quod prædictæ terræ et castra omnia nunquam separentur a coronâ, sed integre remaneant regibus Angliæ in perpetuum."

† See in Prynne, cap. 76., the memorable writ (as he styles it) of Henry to the chief justice of Ireland, to stop all proceedings in law upon the illegal writ issued by the prince, his son.

question involving too melancholy a contrast between the champions of the respective countries, to be more than thus glanced at in passing, and then left to the charity of silence.

These reflections are of course founded upon the generally received notion that prince Edward was never in Ireland; but there is reason to believe, though we find no mention of it in any of our histories, that he did once, for a short time, visit his Irish dominions. There is, at least, extant, a royal mandate addressed by Henry in the year 1255, to this prince, approving of his project of passing over to Ireland from Gascony*, and remaining there for the winter, — with the view, as he adds, of reforming and regulating the state of that country; and that the prince may have put such an intention in practice is rendered, in a high degree, probable, by the tenor of letters addressed to him by the king, in the very same year †, ordering him to convoke before him the prelates, barons, and other magnates of Ireland, for the purpose of consulting with them as to the redress and remedy of certain encroachments on their ancient rights complained of by the clergy. A. D. 1255.

Could a gallant example of self-defence have roused the Irish to an effective effort for their own deliverance, they had now, in the struggle of their brave neighbours the Welsh, against English aggression, a precedent worthy of being emulated by them; — for most truly was it said of that people, now armed to a man in defence of their mountain soil, that "their cause was just, even in the sight of their enemies." ‡ In the course of this warfare, the earl of Chester, who was engaged for some time on the side of the Welsh, had recourse for assistance to Ireland; but prince Edward, fitting out hastily a fleet, attacked the vessels which contained this Irish force, and, having 1255.

* The writ for the sailing of the prince to Ireland, may be found in Rymer, tom. i. p. 560, 561.

† Close Roll, 39 Henry III.

‡ "Causa autem eorum etiam hostibus eorum justa videbatur."

sunk the greater number of them, sent the remainder back with tidings of the defeat.

Shortly after, the king himself, renewing hostilities with the Welsh prince, Llewellyn, sent to ask for troops and supplies from Ireland, against the very cause she had lately so warmly espoused. Thus was it then, as it has been too frequently since, the hard fate of the Irish to be not only themselves the bond-slaves of England, but to be made, also, her unwilling instruments, in imposing the same yoke of slavery upon others.

In the year 1259 the office of lord justice was held by sir Stephen Longespé*, who, in an encounter with O'Neill, in the streets of Down, slew that chief and 350 of his followers. Before the end of the year, however, Longespé himself was treacherously murdered by his own people. During the administration of his successor, William Den, a general rising of the Mac Carthys of Desmond threw all Munster into confusion.† This warlike sept, the ancient proprietors of the kingdom of Desmond, had, by the grants made to the Geraldines in that territory, been despoiled of almost the whole of their princely possessions. It was not, however, without fierce and frequent struggles that they suffered their soil to be thus usurped by the foreigners; and, at the time we now treat of, attacking suddenly a number of nobles and knights collected at Callan, they slew, among other distinguished Geraldines, the lord John Fitz-Thomas, founder of the monastery of Tralee, together with Maurice, his son, eight barons, and fifteen knights. In consequence of this great success, says the chronicler, the Mac Carthys grew, for a time, so powerful, that

A. D. 1259.

1261.

* This officer, who was a descendant of the countess Ela of Salisbury (foundress of Lacock Abbey), is styled, in the Book of Lacock, earl of Ulster; and Borlase, among others, has adopted the mistake. The truth is, Stephen Longespé married the widow of Hugh de Lacy, who had been made earl of Ulster by king John, and hence, no doubt, the misconception. See *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey*, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles, pp. 154, 155.

† The Mac Carthys (says the old chronicler, in language worthy of his subject) "were now playing the devil in Desmond."

"the Geraldines durst not put a plough into the ground in Desmond."*

As usual, however, the dissension of the natives among themselves proved the safety and strength of the common enemy's cause. The mutual jealousy to which joint success so frequently leads now sprang up among the different septs, both of Carbery and Muskerry; and the Mac Carthys, O'Driscolls, O'Donovans, and Mac Mahons, who had lately joined, with such signal success, against the English, being now disunited among themselves, fell powerless before them.

The remaining years of this long reign continued to roll on, at once dully and turbidly, in the same monotonous course of fierce but ignoble strife which had darkened its records from the commencement. As if schooled into civil discord by the example of the natives, scarcely had the swords of the great English lords found time to rest from their wars with the Mac Carthys and Mac Mahons, than they again drew them in deadly conflict against each other; and the families of the De Burghs and the Geraldines were now engaged in as fierce contention among themselves, as, but a short time before, they had been waging jointly against the Irish. Walter de Burgh, who, in consequence of his marriage with the daughter and heiress of Hugh de Lacy, had been created earl of Ulster, was, at this A. D. 1264. time, the head of the great house of the De Burghs; and to such a pitch had arisen the feud between them and the Geraldines, that, at a meeting held this year at Castle Dermond, Maurice Fitz-Maurice Fitz-Gerald, assisted by John Fitz-Thomas (afterwards earl of Kildare), audaciously seized on the persons of Richard de Capella, the lord justice, of Richard de Burgh, heir apparent of Ulster, of Theobald le Butler, and one or two other great partisans of the family of the De Burghs, and committed them to prison in the castles of Ley and Dunamase.†

* Hanmer.

† Annal. Hib. ap. Camd.—Dunamase, signifying the Fortress of the Plain, was, in ancient times, the stronghold of the O'Moores, princes of Ley.

At length, the attention of the English monarch, already sufficiently distracted by the difficulties of his own position, was drawn to the disturbed state of his Irish dominions. A parliament or council was held at Kilkenny, by whose advice the prisoners so arbitrarily detained by the Geraldines were released; and the king, recalling the present lord justice, appointed in his place David Barry (the ancestor of the noble family of Barrymore), who, curbing the insolent ambition of the Geraldines, restored peace between the two rival houses.

A. D. 1267. Among those unerring symptoms of a weak and vicious system of polity, which meet the eye on the very surface of the dreary history we are pursuing, may be reckoned the frequent change of chief governors; — showing how uneasy, under such laws, was power, as well to the rulers as the ruled. David Barry had been but a few months the lord justice, when he was replaced by sir Robert de Ufford, during whose administration there came over a writ from king Henry to levy *aurum reginæ* for Elianor, the wife of prince Edward. This act of sovereignty, exercised by Henry in Ireland, sufficiently proves how far from his intention it had been to cede to his son the right of dominion over that realm. But a still stronger proof is afforded by a writ issued in the same year *, wherein he annuls a grant of some lands made by Edward, without his permission, and transfers them to the son of his own brother, Richard earl of Cornwall.

1270. During the administration of sir James Audley, or Aldethel, the last but one of the numerous chief governors who administered the affairs of the country during this reign, a more than ordinary effort of vigour was

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As this rock bounded the English Pale on the west, a castle was built there for the protection of the vicinity, which Vallancey thinks must have been erected about the beginning of Henry the Third's reign; as, nearly at the same time, the castle of Ley, a structure similar in its general style of architecture, and about eight miles distant, was erected by the barons of Offaley on the banks of the Barrow. — *Collectanea*, vol. ii.

* See this writ in Cox.

made by the natives to wreak vengeance, at least, on their masters, if not to right and emancipate themselves. Rising up in arms all over the country, they burned, despoiled, and slaughtered in every direction, making victims both of high and low. In the country then called Offaley, all the fortified places were destroyed by them; while, in the mean time, the prince of Connaught, availing himself of the general excitement, took the field against Walter de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and putting his forces to rout, killed, among a number of other nobles and knights, the lords Richard and John de Verdon.

In the year 1272, this long reign — the longest to be found in the English annals — was brought to a close; and the few meagre and scattered records which have been strung together in this chapter comprise all that Ireland furnishes towards the history of a reign whose course, in England, was marked by events so pregnant with interest and importance, — events which, by leading to a new distribution of political power, were the means of introducing a third estate into the constitution of the English legislature. It is somewhat remarkable, too, that the very same order of men, the fierce and haughty barons, who laid the foundation, at this time, in Ireland, of a system of provincial despotism, of which not only the memory but the vestiges still remain, should have been likewise, by the strong force of circumstances, made subservient to the future establishment of representative government and free institutions in England.

CHAP. XXXV.

EDWARD I.

LAWS OF ENGLAND NOT YET EXTENDED TO THE IRISH. — REVOLT OF THE NATIVES — SEIZE ON THE PERSON OF THE LORD DEPUTY, AND DEFEAT HIS SUCCESSOR IN BATTLE. — WARS OF DE CLARE IN THOMOND — HIS TREACHERY TO THE CONTENDING CHIEFS — IS DEFEATED BY TIRLOGH O'BRIAN. — PETITION OF THE IRISH TO BE ADMITTED TO THE BENEFITS OF ENGLISH LAW — THE KING FAVOURABLE TO THEIR REQUEST. — GRANT OF CHARTERS OF DENIZATION. — CONTINUANCE OF THE FEUD BETWEEN THE GERALDINES AND THE DE BURGHS. — GREAT POWER OF THE EARL OF ULSTER. — CONTEST BETWEEN DE VESCY AND THE BARON OF OFFALEY — TRIUMPH OF THE LATTER, AND HIS INSOLENCE IN CONSEQUENCE — THROWS THE EARL OF ULSTER INTO PRISON. — TRUCE BETWEEN THE GERALDINES AND DE BURGHS. — A PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED. — IRISH FORCES SUMMONED TO JOIN THE KING IN SCOTLAND. — SAVAGE MURDERS COMMITTED BOTH BY ENGLISH AND IRISH.

A.D. 1272. THERE had now elapsed exactly a century from the time of the landing of Henry II.; and it would be difficult to pronounce a severer or more significant comment upon the policy pursued by the rulers of Ireland, during that period, than is found in a petition addressed to king Edward, in an early part of his reign, praying that he would extend to the Irish the benefit of the laws and usages of England.*

It was the wise boast of the Romans, that their enemies, on the day they were conquered, became their fellow citizens†; and one of the most eloquent of the Roman philosophers demands, "What would have become of the empire had not a kindly Providence mixed

* Prynne, cap. lxxvi. 257.

† "Conditor noster Romulus tantum sapientia valuit, ut plerosque populos eodem die hostes, deinde cives habuerit."— *Tacitus.*

up together the victors and the vanquished?"* Far different was the policy adopted by the rude satraps of the English colony, who, seeing no safety for their own abused power but in the weakness of those subjected to them, took counsel of their fears, and, never relaxing the unsure hold, continued through ages to keep the Irish in the very same hostile and alien state in which they had found them.

The reign of Edward I., which forms so eventful a portion of England's history, and combines in its course so rare and remarkable a mixture of the brilliant and the solid, the glorious and the useful, presents, as viewed through the meagre records of Ireland, a barren and melancholy waste — unenlivened even by those fiery outbreaks of just revenge, which, at most other periods, flash out from time to time, lighting up fearfully the scene of suffering and strife. In the first year, indeed, of this reign, before the return of Edward from abroad, advantage was taken of his absence, by the natives, to make a sudden and desperate effort for their own deliverance.† Attacking the castles of Roscommon A. D. Aldleck, and Sligo, they dismantled, or, as it is said, 1272. destroyed them ‡; and at the same time were enabled, through the treachery of his followers, to seize the person of the lord justice, Maurice Fitz-Maurice, and cast him into prison.§

This nobleman was succeeded in his high office by 1273. the lord Walter Genevil, newly returned from the Holy Land, during whose administration the Scots and Redshanks, out of the Highlands, made a sudden incursion into Ireland, and, committing the most cruel murders and depredations, escaped with their booty before the inhabitants had time to rally in their defence. Shortly after, however, a considerable force under Richard de Burgh and sir Eustace de Poer, invading, in their turn,

* "Quid hodie esset imperium, nisi salubris providentia victos permiscuisset victoribus?" — *Seneca.*

† "Quasi omnes Hiberni guerraverunt," says a MS. fragment, cited by Cox, respecting this general revolt.

‡ Hanmer. § Ware's *Annals.*

the Highlands and Scottish isles, spread desolation wherever they went, putting to death all whom they could find; while such as dwelt, in the manner of the ancient Irish, in caves, were smoked out from thence, like foxes from their holes, or destroyed by suffocation.

A. D. 1267. The successor of Genevil in the government of the country was Robert de Ufford, now for the second time lord justice; and the five or six following years, during which, personally, or through his deputy, Stephen de Fulburn, he managed the affairs of the country, were distracted by a series of petty wars, in which not only English fought with Irish, but the Irish, assisted by the arms of the foreigner, fought no less bitterly against their own countrymen. At the great battle of Glandelory, the English were defeated with much slaughter; and among the numerous prisoners taken is mentioned William Fitz-Roger, prior of the king's hospitallers. On the other hand, Ralph Pippard, assisted by O'Hanlon, gave, in the same year, a severe check to the great chieftain O'Neill.*

But it was in Thomond that the scenes most tumultuous and most disgraceful to the English name were now exhibited. A large grant of lands, in Thomond, had been, about this time, bestowed upon Thomas de Clare, son of the earl of Gloucester; —whether by grant from the crown, or as a gift from one of the O'Brian family †, does not very clearly appear. Having thus got footing in that territory, De Clare proceeded on a course of open and flagrant treachery, such as proved both the simplicity of his victims, and his own daring

1277. craft. Taking advantage of the fierce strife then raging among the O'Brians for the succession to the throne of Thomond, he contrived, by supporting and be-

* Hanmer.

† According to Lodge, "all that tract of Thomond which extends from Limerick to Ath Solais, was bestowed by Bryan Ruadh, prince of Thomond, upon Thomas de Clare, in consideration of this lord coming with the English troops to reinstate him in his kingdom." But, according to others, this immense property was a reckless gift from the crown: and a grant (Pat. Roll, 4 Ed. I.), of ample liberties in his lands of Thomond to Thomas de Clare, seems to confirm this statement. — See Ryley's *Placit. Parliamentar.*, Appendix, 438.

traying each of the rivals, in turn, to enrich and aggrandise himself at the expense of all. To enter into the details of these multiplied treacheries would be an almost endless task; but the following is a brief outline of the events as they are found related in the Annals of Inisfallen.*

Forming an alliance with Brian Ruadh, whose nephew Tirlogh was then contending with him for the principality, De Clare, attended by Brian himself, marched an army of English and Irish against his competitor. In the battle which then ensued, the allied forces under the English lord were utterly defeated; and among the slain was Patrick Fitz-Maurice, the son and heir of Fitz-Maurice of Kerry, and brother to De Clare's wife. As it was in Brian's cause this calamitous defeat had been incurred, the conclusion drawn by the barbarous logic of De Clare was, that upon him, first, the disaster ought to be avenged; and, the wife and father-in-law of Fitz-Maurice being the most loud in demanding this sacrifice, the wretched chieftain was put to death, and, according to some accounts, with peculiar refinement of cruelty.† A. D. 1277.

The manner in which De Clare followed up this crime affords a sequel, in every way, worthy of it. To Tirlogh, against whom he had so lately fought, in conjunction with Brian, he made a merit of having thus removed so formidable a rival; while, at the same time, he entered into negotiations with Donogh O'Brian, the son

* MS., translated by Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, and now in the possession of Messrs. Smith and Hodges, Dublin. Though Leland cites these annals as an authority for his account of De Clare's proceedings in Thomond, the statements made by him differ entirely from those found in the Annals.

† The particulars of this treacherous act, as given by the Annalist, are as follows: — "The earl of Clare's son took Brian Roe O'Brian prisoner very deceitfully, after they had sworn to each other all the oaths in Munster — as bells, relics of saints, and bachals — to be true to one another; also after they became sworn gossips, and for confirmation of this third indissoluble bond of perpetual friendship, they drew part of the blood of one another, which they put in a vessel, and mingled it together. After all which protestations, the said Brian was taken, as aforesaid, and bound to a steed; and so was tortured to death by the said earl's son."

of the murdered prince, and engaged to assist him in gaining the throne of Thomond. To effect this object, and put down the pretensions of the usurper, a force was collected under the joint command of De Clare and Donogh, which, making an impetuous attack upon Tirlogh, drove him, as the annalist describes the locality, "to the east of the wood of Forbair." The Irish chieftain, however, making his way back through defiles and by-ways with which he was acquainted, fell upon the confederates by surprise, and gained so decisive a victory, that they were forced to surrender to him half of the country of Thomond, leaving the remainder in the hands of the rightful successor, Donogh. De Clare, in drawing off his troops from the territories of these chiefs, said significantly, that "the first of them who would lay waste the other's lands, should be his declared friend for life." In one of the battles, fought by this lord with the Irish, himself and his father-in-law, Fitz-Maurice, were drawn, with a part of their force, into a pass in the mountains of Slieve Bloom, and there compelled to surrender at discretion.

While such was the state of Thomond, in almost every other direction the same strife and struggle prevailed; the infatuated natives performing actively the work of the enemy, by butchering each other. Thus, in a battle between the king of Connaught and the chief of the Mac Dermots of Moy-Lurg, the army of Connaught was utterly defeated with the loss of two thousand men, and the king himself slain. It was A.D. 1277 with reference to this battle that the lord justice, Robert de Ufford, when called to account by king Edward for permitting such disorders, replied shrewdly, that "he thought it not amiss to let rebels murder one another, as it would save the king's coffers, and purchase peace for the land." *

It is clear that the petition addressed to the king, by the natives, praying for the privileges of English

* Cox.

law, had not yet been even taken into consideration by the barons, as we find Edward, in the present year, again calling upon the lords spiritual and temporal, as well as the whole body of English subjects in "the Land of Ireland,"* to assemble and deliberate upon that prayer. Intimating clearly the views he himself entertained on the subject, and the nature of the decision, which, if left to his own clear sense and vigorous will, he could not have failed to adopt, he yet declares, that without the concurrence of at least the prelates and nobles of the land, he should not feel justified in granting the desired boon. With evident allusion, however, to certain excuses alleged by the barons for not sooner applying themselves to the subject, he enjoins strictly, that they shall by no means omit, in consequence of the absence of any of their body, whether owing to business or from their being under age, to meet at the time which he had appointed, and to give to the subject such full and mature deliberation, as might serve to point out to him the line of policy most expedient for him to adopt.† A.D. 1280.

The petitioners, though styled, in vague language, "the community" of Ireland, were, in all probability, only the inhabitants of the districts bordering on the English settlement, who, from contiguity of property and other causes, were brought the most frequently into collision with the king's subjects, in matters of law as well as of warfare; and naturally wished, by acquiring possession of the same rights and privileges as were enjoyed by their neighbours, to share with them the safeguard of English law, instead of knowing it only as an instrument of oppression.

As the crown, in those times, required to be bribed into justice, these wretched petitioners did not forget that necessary consideration, but offered to pay into the

* The district occupied by the English, and known, at a later period, by the name of the Pale, was at this time, and for some centuries after, called "the *Land* of Ireland."

† Pat. Roll, 8 Ed. I.

king's treasury 8000 marks, on condition that he would grant their request; and the king, in his reply to the lord justice *, begins by mentioning — what was, with him, doubtless, not the least interesting part of the transaction — this tender of a sum of money; it having been, throughout his whole reign, one of the most pressing objects of his policy to raise supplies for the constant warfare, both foreign and internal, in which he was engaged. He then proceeds, in this letter, to say that, inasmuch as the laws used by the Irish were hateful in the sight of God, and so utterly at variance with justice as not to deserve to be regarded as laws, he had considered the question deliberately, with the aid of his council, and it had appeared to them sufficiently expedient to grant to that people the English laws: — provided always, that the common consent of the English settlers, or at least of their well-disposed prelates and nobles, should lend sanction to such a measure. †

Thus laudably anxious was this great prince to settle calmly the question, then first brought into discussion, whether the Irish were to be ruled by the same laws, and enjoy the same rights and privileges, as the English; — a question which, under various forms and phases, has remained, essentially, down to the present day, in almost the same state in which Edward then found and left it. Notwithstanding the urgent terms of the royal mandate, no further step appears to have been taken on this important subject, either by king or barons; and it may be concluded, indeed, from the records of licences ‡ granted in this and subsequent reigns, admitting certain favoured individuals to the privileges of English law, that no such general measure of denization as the Irish had prayed for, and the throne wisely

* This letter of the king is given in full by Leland.

† In order to turn this concession to the most profitable account, for the recruitment of his fiscal and military means, he desired the lord justice to agree with the petitioners for the highest sum of money he could obtain; and also to stipulate that they should hold in readiness a certain number, as might be agreed upon, of good and able foot soldiers, to repair to him whensoever he should think fit to summon their aid.

‡ The form of these licences may be seen in Prynne, 258.

recommended, was, throughout that whole period, conceded.

Meanwhile, the entire country continued to be convulsed with constant warfare, not only of Irish with English, but of the natives and settlers respectively among themselves; and the long-standing feud between the Geraldines and the De Burghs was, owing to the power of the great families enlisted in it, prolonged through the greater part of this reign. But the deaths, A.D. in 1286, of the two leading barons, Gerald Fitz-Maurice 1286. and the lord Thomas de Clare, threw the ascendency, without further dispute, into the hands of the De Burghs; the powerful head of which family, Richard, earl of Ulster, commonly called the Red Earl, attained, during this reign, such immense authority, that his name is frequently, in the king's letters, found mentioned before that of the lord justice. Presuming upon this great power, and without any grounds, as it appears, but his own grasping self-will, he laid claim to the lands in Meath inherited by Theobald de Verdon, in right of Margaret, his mother, daughter of Walter de Lacy. With a large tumultuary force, De Burgh invaded this territory, and besieged De Verdon in one of his castles *; 1288. but no other result of this daring aggression is mentioned, than the usual havoc and horror attendant on such inroads.

It was during the time when John Sandford, archbishop of Dublin, held the office of chief governor, that the irruption just mentioned took place; and the same period is rendered, in another sense, memorable, by the statute entitled "An Ordinance for the State of Ireland," which was made in the seventeenth year of this 1289. reign, and which, in the now defunct controversy respecting the right of the English parliament to bind Ireland, forms part of the evidence adduced in support of that questioned right. †

* Marleburrough. — Davies.
† See Vol. II. of this work, chap. xxxii. p. 329. *et seq.*

The reader has already been prepared, on entering into this Anglo-Irish period, to find the people of the land thrown darkly into the background of their country's history, while a small colony of foreign intruders usurp, insultingly, their place.* So lamentably is this the case, that it is only in the feuds and forays of the English barons that the historian — if he may lay claim to such a title — can find materials for his barren and unhonoured task. A personal quarrel of this description, which now occurred, excited in both countries, from the peculiar circumstances attendant upon it, a more than ordinary share of attention. William de Vescy, a lord high in favour with Edward, having been appointed lord
A.D. 1290. justice of Ireland in the year 1290, a mutual jealousy sprung up between him and John Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Gerald, baron of Offaley†, which broke out, at last, into open enmity; and each, accusing the other of treason and rebellion, hurried to England to lay their complaints before the king.

Being admitted to plead their cause before him, in council, they there poured out upon each other speeches full of abuse and recrimination, of which a report, professing to be faithful, is preserved by the English chronicler. ‡ De Vescy having, by his marriage with one of the co-heiresses of the house of Pembroke, become possessor of the actual territory of Kildare, while Fitz-Thomas was but the titular earl of that district, the latter alluded thus to this circumstance, in one of his speeches: — "By your honour and mine, my lord, and by king Edward's hand, you would, if you durst, approach me in plain terms of treason or felony. For, where I have the title, and

* See Vol. II. of this work, chap. xxxii. p. 327.

† This lord, who sat as baron of Offaley, in the parliament of 1295, is, in the pedigree of the earls of Kildare, made the seventh lord Offaley.—See *Lodge*. He had issue two sons, says the same authority; — John, the eighth lord of Offaley, created earl of Kildare; and Maurice, created earl of Desmond. A report on Ireland, in the State Papers (K. Henry VIII.), in speaking of William de Vescy, styles him "one Vescy, which was lord of Kildar befor ther was aney erle of Kildar." — Vol. ii.

‡ Holinshed.

you the fleece, of Kildare, I wot well how great an eye-sore I am in your sight; so that, if I might be handsomely trussed up for a felon, then might my master, your son, become a gentleman." When their cause was again heard, before the king in council, Fitz-Thomas concluded his speech with the following defiance: — "Wherefore, to justify that I am a true subject, and that thou, Vescy, art an arch-traitor to God and my king, I here, in the presence of his highness, and in the hearing of this honourable assembly, challenge the combat." Whereat (says the chronicler) all the auditory shouted.*

De Vescy accepted the challenge; but, on the day fixed for the combat, when all was ready, the lists prepared, and a crowd assembled to witness the trial, it was found that he had withdrawn privately to France. This unchivalrous step being regarded as an avowal of guilt, the king bestowed on the baron of Offaley the lordships of Kildare and Rathangan, which had hitherto been held by his rival, saying that, "though de Vescy had conveyed his person to France, he had left his lands behind him in Ireland." †

Elated with this great success, the ambitious and turbulent lord of Offaley indulged, unrestrainedly, on his return to Ireland, in a course of insulting aggression upon all who had, in any manner, opposed his domineering views; and among the first objects of his hostility was Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, whom he took prisoner, together with his brother, in Meath, and confined them both in the strong castle of Ley.‡ He then transferred the scene of his activity to Kildare, where the Irish, rising in immense force, under Calwagh, brother of the king of Offaley, had seized on the castle of Kildare, and burnt all the rolls and tallies relating to the county records and accounts. Between its English and Irish depredators, that district was entirely

A.D. 1294.

* See Rymer, tom. ii.; "De adjornatione duelli inter Willielmum de Vescy et Johannem filium Thomæ."

† Cox. ‡ Arnal. Hibern. ap. Camden.

laid waste, and death and desolation followed wherever they went.

At length an attempt was made, during the government of sir John Wogan, to moderate the dissensions of these lawless barons; and a truce for two years having been agreed upon between the Geraldines and the De Burghs, the lord justice was enabled, by this short respite from strife, to consider of some means of remedying the unquiet and disorganised state of the kingdom. A general parliament was accordingly assembled by him, which, though insignificant in point of numbers, passed some measures of no ordinary importance and use.* It was during this reign, as the reader will recollect, that the parliament of England, after a long series of progressive experiments, was moulded into its present shape; nor did a house of commons, before this period, form a regular and essential part of the English legislature.† In Ireland, where, from obvious causes, the materials of a third estate were not easily to be found, the growth of such an institution would be, of course, proportionably slow; and the assemblies held there during this reign, and for some time after, though usually dignified with the name of parliament, differed but little, it is clear, in their constitution, from those ancient common councils, at which only the nobles and ecclesiastics, together with, occasionally, a few tenants *in capite*, and, perhaps, the retainers of some of the great lords, were expected to give their attendance.

A.D. 1295.

Among the acts passed by this parliament, there is one ordaining a new division of the kingdom into counties; the division established under king John, as well as the distribution then made of sheriffs, having been found defective and inconvenient.‡ Another ob-

* Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin. — See Ledwich (*Hist. and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny*), who confounds this parliament with one held in 1305.

† Speaking of the ordainers in the following reign, Lingard says, "From the tenor of the ordinances, it is plain that the authority of the parliament was hitherto supposed to reside in the baronage, the great council of former reigns. The commons had nothing to do but to present petitions and to grant money."

‡ For the different divisions of the kingdom into counties by John and

ject that engaged their attention was the defenceless state of the English territory, and the harassing incursions of the natives dwelling upon its borders; and, as this scourge was owing chiefly to the absence of the lords marchers, it was now enacted that all such marchers as neglected to maintain their necessary wards should forfeit their lands. Among other measures for the maintenance of a military force, it was ordained that all absentees should assign, out of their Irish revenues, a competent portion for that purpose:—a proof how early the anomalies involved in the forced connection between the two countries began to unfold their disturbing effects. To check the private expeditions, or forays, of the barons, a provision was made that, for the future, no lord should wage war but by licence of the chief governor, or by special mandate of the king. With a like view to curbing the power of the great lords, an effort was made at this time to limit the number of their retainers, by forbidding every person, of whatever degree, to harbour more of such followers than he could himself maintain; and for all exactions and violences committed by these idle-men, or kerns (as they were styled), their lords were to be made answerable.*

To this parliament is likewise attributed an ordinance, —belonging, really however, to a somewhat later period, —which, in reference to the tendency already manifested by the English to conform to the customs and manners of the natives, ordains that all Englishmen should still, in their garb and the cut of their hair, adhere to the fashion of their own country; that whoever, in the mode of wearing their hair, affected to appear like Irishmen, would be treated as such; that their lands and chattels would be seized, and themselves imprisoned.

Edward I., see Ware, *Antiq.* c. 5. Whatever may have been the improved distribution made by Edward I., it is clear that the ancient form, which allotted one sheriff to Connaught, and another to Roscommon, was still in use in the time of Edward II. Thus we find in rolls of that reign, Gerald Tirrel, "vice-comes de Roscommon," and Henry Bermingham, "nuper vice-comes Connaciæ."—See Serjeant Mayart's Answer to Sir R. Bolton, *Hibernica*, 35.

* Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin.

A.D. 1298. During the two or three following years, supplies of troops were sent from Ireland, at different intervals, to the aid of the king in his Scottish wars* ; the sort of warfare the Irish were accustomed to among their own lakes and mountains, rendering them a force peculiarly suited to the present state of the war in Scotland, where the northern and mountainous parts of the country alone remained to be subdued. In the spring of 1299. the present year, John Wogan, the lord justice, having been summoned to join the king †, in Scotland, repaired thither with a select force, and, joining in the pageant of that invasion, was, together with his followers, royally feasted by the triumphant monarch, at Roxburgh castle.‡ During this expedition of the lord justice, William de Ross, prior of Kilmainham, was left to act as his deputy ; and the natives, availing themselves of the absence of so many of the choicest of the English nobles and soldiers, broke out into rebellion in several places. The people of the Maraghie mountains burnt Leighlin and other towns ; but in Orgiel §, where O'Hanlon and Mac Mahon endeavoured to rouse the spirit of their countrymen, they were both of them vanquished and slain.

1298. On the return of Wogan from Scotland, a few years of unwonted tranquillity ensued ; owing chiefly, as it appears, to the skill and firmness with which this functionary, who was evidently a favourite with king Edward, succeeded in keeping down the old family feud between the De Burghs and the Geraldines : — so much has the tranquillity of Ireland, at all periods, depended on the example and judicious conduct of her chief nobles and rulers.

* The contributions of Ireland towards this object had commenced some time before, and a tenth of the revenues of the clergy had been granted for it. — Rymer, tom. ii. 519., tom. iii. 442.

† "The king sent unto John Wogan, lord justice, commanding him to give summons unto the nobles of Ireland, to prepare themselves with horse and armour, to come in their best array for the war, to serve against the Scots." — *Holinshed.*

‡ Holinshed.—At Roxborough, says Dr. Lingard, the king "found himself at the head of 8000 horse and 80,000 foot, principally Irish and Welsh.

§ A territory comprehending the present Louth, Monaghan, and Armagh.

During the remaining nine years of this reign, the Irish records supply us with few occurrences worthy of any notice. On the renewed revolt of the Scots, under the regent, John Cummin, the earl of Ulster, with a large force, and accompanied by Eustace de Poer, went to the king's aid in Scotland, — the earl having created thirty-three knights, in the castle of Dublin, before his departure.* Among those summoned to attend the king, was Edmond le Botiller, afterwards earl of Carrick, who hastened to Dublin to embark with his followers for that purpose. But some disturbances having just then occurred, it was not thought advisable that he should leave the kingdom; and Edward, offended at his absence, refused to grant him livery of some lands that had lately fallen to him. On being made acquainted, however, with the truth of the matter, the king ordered the livery to be granted.† A.D. 1303.

Though war, and its attendant horrors, must form, in all cases, too large a portion of the historian's theme, the enumeration of a list of mere private murders is a task to which rarely his pen is called upon to descend. When the victims, however, are of high rank and station, and when — as, unfortunately, was the case in more countries than Ireland, at this period — murders are held to be little else than a sort of private warfare, the duty of noticing them, however revolting, cannot honestly be avoided. I shall therefore recount, and as nearly as possible in the brief language employed by the chronicler, some barbarous events of this kind which occurred in the last years of Edward's reign; and it will be seen that both English and Irish were alike implicated in the savage actions recorded.

In the year 1305, Murtogh O'Connor, king of Offaley, and his brother Calwagh, were murdered in Pierce Bermingham's house, at Carbery, in the county of Kildare ‡; and in the same year, sir Gilbert Sutton,

* Annal. Hibern.

† Carte's Life of Ormond, *Introduct.* See Evidences of the Earl of Ormond's Lands, taken out of an old Ledger, b. 31. Ed. I. *Lambeth*, 608. fol. 9.

‡ Holinshed.

A.D. seneschal of Wexford, was put to death in the house
1305. of Hamon le Gras; the host himself, who was of the ancient family of Grace, having narrowly escaped the same fate.* In the following year, O'Brian, prince of Thomond, was also murdered; and Donald Ruadh, the king of Desmond, met with the same violent end, at the hands of his son, Daniel Oge M'Carthy. About the same time, on a wider scale of murder, the
1306. sept of the O'Dempsys made great slaughter of the O'Connors, near Geashill, in Offaley; and O'Dempsy, the chief of the O'Regans, was, on the same occasion, slain. Shortly after, Pierce Bermingham suffered a defeat in the marches of Meath, and the town of Ballymore was burnt by the Irish. On this, the war spread rapidly throughout that whole district, and the English were summoned out of the other provinces to the relief of Leinster, where, in a hard-fought battle, at Glenfell, sir Thomas Mandeville, the English leader, had his horse killed under him, and his troops thrown into confusion; but at length succeeded, by skilful captainship, in retrieving the fortunes of the day.†

1307. Among the events of the last year of this reign, we find recorded the murder of an Irishman, Murtogh Balloch, by an English knight, sir David Canton, or Condon; and the circumstances attending the act must have been of no ordinary atrocity, as, by a rare instance of justice, in such cases, the English knight was hanged, in Dublin, for this murder, in the second year of the following reign. A rising of the O'Kellys, in Connaught, where they surprised and slew a number of English, and some daring efforts of the wild mountaineers of Offaley, who destroyed the castle of Geashill, and burnt the town of Ley, are among the last of the miserable records contributed by Ireland to the history of a reign, whose whole course, as traced through England's proud annals, presents such a series of shining achievements, both in legislation and warfare, as no

* Annal. Hibern. † Ibid.

period, perhaps, of the same duration, in the history of any other country, ever yet equalled.

It was in the seventh year of this reign, under the administration of sir Stephen de Fulburn, that a new kind of coin was struck by order of the king, — who, having, highly to his honour, fixed a certain rule or standard for money, in England, applied the same rule to the regulation of the mints in Ireland, both in the weight and fineness. He also decried, a few years after, by proclamation, the base money called crockards and pollards.*

* Ware, *Antiquities*, chap. 32. "To this coinage I am inclined to refer a very curious penny found at Youghal in 1830, together with a large hoard of English and Irish coins of Edward I., and now in the cabinet of the Dean of St. Patrick's. It exactly resembles the penny of this reign, but is of ruder work, and bears the king's head without the triangle." — Lindsay, *View of the Coinage of Ireland*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

EDWARD II.

THE NEW KING, ON HIS ACCESSION, RECALS GAVESTON FROM BANISHMENT — SENDS HIM TO IRELAND AS LORD-LIEUTENANT. — RIVALRY BETWEEN GAVESTON AND THE EARL OF ULSTER — HIS GOVERNMENT ACTIVE AND BENEFICIAL. — STRONG INTEREST FELT BY THE IRISH IN THE FORTUNES OF ROBERT BRUCE. — BRUCE TAKES REFUGE IN THE ISLE OF RACHLIN — HIS EXPEDITION FROM THENCE ATTENDED BY TWO IRISH PRINCES. — EFFECTS OF THE VICTORY OF BANNOCKBURN ON THE MINDS OF THE IRISH. — DEPUTIES SENT BY THEM TO INVITE BRUCE TO IRELAND. — LANDING OF EDWARD BRUCE AT LARNE. — CONSTERNATION OF THE ENGLISH AUTHORITIES. — CAUSE OF THE ENGLISH ESPOUSED BY FEIDLIM, PRINCE OF CONNAUGHT. — THE EARL OF ULSTER DEFEATED BY THE SCOTS. — GREAT BATTLE BETWEEN THE O'CONNORS. — FEIDLIM O'CONNOR JOINS THE SCOTS. — SUCCESSFUL PROGRESS OF THE INVADERS. — THE ENGLISH DEFEATED IN MEATH AND IN KILDARE. — GENERAL REBELLION OF THE IRISH. — GREAT BATTLE AT ATHENRY. — FEIDLIM'S ARMY DEFEATED AND HIMSELF KILLED. — LANDING OF ROBERT BRUCE IN IRELAND. — THE EARL OF ULSTER SUSPECTED OF CONCERT WITH THE SCOTS — IS THROWN INTO PRISON. — INTREPID CONDUCT OF THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN. — ROBERT BRUCE AT THE SALMON-LEAP. — DREADFUL FAMINE, AND SEVERE SUFFERINGS OF THE SCOTS. — INACTION AND INDECISION OF THE ENGLISH LEADERS. — RETREAT OF THE SCOTS INTO ULSTER. — DEPARTURE OF ROBERT BRUCE. — EARL OF ULSTER LIBERATED. — ORDINANCE FOR ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS. — MUTUAL HOSTILITY OF THE ENGLISH AND IRISH CHURCHES. — GREAT BATTLE BETWEEN EDWARD BRUCE AND THE ENGLISH NEAR DUNDALK. — THE SCOTS DEFEATED, AND BRUCE HIMSELF SLAIN. — REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED TO THE POPE BY O'NEILL AND HIS BROTHER CHIEFTAINS. — SUPPRESSION OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS IN IRELAND.

A.D. 1307. ONE of the first acts of Edward II., on his accession, was to recal his favourite, Gaveston, from banishment; a step which his father, on his deathbed, had solemnly forbidden under pain of his malediction. Shortly after, too, when Edward passed over into France,

for the purpose of espousing the beautiful Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, he appointed Gaveston to be regent of the kingdom during his absence, with powers that usually, on such occasions, were reserved by the sovereign to himself.* In like manner, the high distinction of carrying the crown at the coronation, and walking immediately before the king, had, with insulting neglect of the claims of the ancient nobility, been allotted to this foreign minion. The anger of the barons, A.D.
at these proceedings, soon found a vent in the voice of 1307.
parliament, which, demanding the immediate expulsion of Gaveston from the country, compelled the favourite himself to swear he would never return, and bound the bishops to excommunicate him should he violate his oath.

Though thus deprived of his favourite's society, the king was determined still to uphold and advance his fortunes; and, having bestowed upon him new grants of land, both in England and Gascony, he accompanied him on his supposed exile as far as Bristol. From that port Gaveston sailed; but, to the surprise 1308.
and mortification of all who had expected to see him humbled, it was now discovered that Ireland was the chosen place of his banishment†; that he had been sent thither as the king's lieutenant ‡, and went loaded with the royal jewels.

During the short period of his administration, there was no want of, at least, activity in the new viceroy, whom our records represent as being almost constantly in the field, engaging and subduing the refractory chiefs, and enforcing obedience to the English power.§ But, like most governors of that country, both before his time and since, he applied himself solely to the task of suppressing rebellion, forgetting the higher duty of investigating and endeavouring to remove its causes.

* Lingard. † Walsingham.
‡ The king's *locum-tenens*, as he is styled in the instrument of his appointment. — Rymer, tom. iii. 92.
§ Annal. Hibern.

In so confined a sphere as formed the compass of English dominion at this time in Ireland, it would have been difficult for two such potent lords as the king's favourite, and the Red Earl, to move in their respective orbits of rule, without coming hostilely into collision. It was, of course, with no ordinary feelings of jealousy, that the haughty De Burgh, whose name took precedence of that of the representative of majesty, saw an upstart thus put in possession of the royal resources of the realm; while to Gaveston, it could have been no less galling and mortifying, to find himself confronted by the princely state and feudal authority of the proud earl. Shortly after the lieutenant's arrival, a grand feast was given by De Burgh, in the lordly castle of Trim, where, in the course of the pomps and festivities of the day, he conferred upon two of the noble family of De Lacy the honour of knighthood.*

Among the benefits resulting from Gaveston's government is mentioned, particularly, the attention paid by him to public works; several castles, bridges, and causeways having been constructed, we are told, during his administration. But, however beneficial his continuance in that post might have proved to the country, — depravity of morals being, in him, not incompatible with shining and useful talents, — the infatuated monarch could no longer endure his favourite's absence, and he was immediately recalled to England; the pope absolving him from his late vow, and the barons, in consequence of the king's promises of amendment, giving their consent to his return.

A.D. 1309.

The successor of Gaveston, at the head of the government, was sir John Wogan, a gentleman high in the royal favour, who had already three times filled the office of lord justice. Soon after his arrival, a parliament was held at Kilkenny, of which the enact-

* Annal. Hibern. "Heretofore every person dubbed a knight had a power to dub others. . . . . Thus we read in Clyn's Annals, that, ann. 1341, the earl of Desmond made Richard Archdekine a knight in Desmond, and on the same day the new knight made three others knights." — Ware, *Antiq. of Ireland*, chap. 26. It appears from Selden, that the same practice prevailed in other parts of Europe in this age. — *Titles of Honour.*

ments are still preserved *; and among them are some directed against the gross exactions and general misconduct of the nobility.

Still further to embroil and complicate those scenes of strife of which Ireland was now the theatre, each of the two contending parties became divided into fierce factions within itself; and the brief pauses between their conflicts with each other were filled up with equally rancorous strife among themselves. In this year, Richard earl of Ulster, leading a force into Thomond, attacked the castle built at Bunratty by the earl Thomas de Clare †; but, being encountered by the lord Richard de Clare, sustained a signal defeat; himself and his brother, lord William, were made prisoners, and John de Lacy and several others of his followers slain. In the mean while, the native septs were no less active in civil dissension than their foreign masters; but, to their shame, the weapon of the assassin was often substituted by them for the sword of civilised warfare. In this base spirit, Donogh O'Brian, a descendant of their ancient princes, was murdered in Thomond by some of his own people; and John Mac O'Hedan fell in like manner, by the hand of a brother chieftain, Manmoy.‡ A.D. 1311.

To the English, a feud that now sprung up among themselves, was nearly productive of serious mischief. The Byrnes and O'Tooles, the hardy septs of the mountains of Wicklow, having risen, this year, in great force, had attacked the towns of Tassagard § and Rathcoole, and, advancing to the woods of Glendalory, from thence menaced Dublin.|| Instead of being able to repress and punish this audacious movement, the lord justice, sir John Wogan, found himself compelled to march into Orgiel, with whatever troops he could hastily collect, for the purpose of repressing a revolt headed by sir Robert de Verdon: and so powerful was 1312.

* Bolton's Irish Statutes.

† This lord, whose achievements in Thomond have already been mentioned, was slain in a battle fought by him with one of the O'Brians, in the year 1287. — *Annals of Inisfallen.*

‡ Annal. Hibern. § Now called Taggard. || Cox.

the aid given to this outbreak by other English malcontents, that, in the engagement which ensued, the force of the lord justice was defeated, and sir Nicholas Avenell, Patrick de Roche, and others of his officers were slain.* Such was the difficult and responsible task, between the Irish enemy on one side and the factious English on the other, which the harassed and sleepless government of that kingdom was called upon constantly to perform.

A few years before the period we have now entered upon, negotiations had taken place between Edward and the Scottish king, in which De Burgh, earl of Ulster, was one of the commissioners on the part of England. A truce then made between the two parties, was, shortly after, through the impatience of both, violated; and a war, memorable for ever in the annals of victorious Scotland, was the immediate result. Aroused from the torpor that had hitherto hung over him, the English monarch collected forces from all quarters, as well mercenaries as vassals; ordered levies of infantry to be made in the marches of Wales and the northern counties of England; and also, by a mandate addressed to the principal Irish chieftains, invited their prompt and strenuous aid.† But to this call on the heirs of Ireland's ancient kings, no voice of loyal obedience seems to have responded. Even the slight feudal link, by which king John had attached those dynasts to the English crown, was now evidently broken asunder; and it is clear, from the terms of the writ of military service, that not one of the chiefs summoned had ever sworn fealty to Edward.

A.D. 1309.

The nature of the policy, indeed, pursued by every successive chief governor, — or, rather, by those rulers of both government and people, the proud and rapacious Anglo-Irish lords, — had been such as to make of the nation they ruled over, not subjects, but bitter and confirmed foes. Aware that the restraints of legal forms would stand in the way of their own unprincipled projects,

* Annal. Hibern.

† Rymer, . iii. p. 180. The names of thirty-five Irish chiefs are annexed to this summons.

they refused to the natives all that was protective in the law, while employing against them all its worst contrivances of mischief. To what an extent, at this time, had been carried the wanton exactions of the great English lords, may be gathered from a tardy but significant notice of their rapacity which occurs in the proceedings of a parliament held at the beginning of this reign; and, it needs only to be mentioned as a sample of the spirit in which these legislators dealt with the "Irish enemy," — for so they called, and took pains to make, the great bulk of the population, — that the murder of an Irishman was not held to be a crime punishable by law *; and that even the violator of female chastity, if his victim was proved to be an Irishwoman, incurred no legal punishment. † A.D. 1309.

That a nation thus treated should writhe impatiently under the yoke, and greet with eagerness the faintest prospect of deliverance, was but in the natural course of manly and patriotic feeling; and the noble stand made by the Scots for their national independence had shot a feeling of hope and sympathy through every Irish heart. Besides those motives, arising far less from views of policy than from natural and deep-seated revenge, which would have interested them in the success of any nation armed against the English, there was also, to enlist their good wishes peculiarly in the cause of the Scots, the sympathy of a kindred people, a common lineage and language, and the similarity, still preserved, of their old national institutions. In the fortunes of Bruce a lively interest appears to have been taken by the Irish, at a time when his great and glorious work

* In proof of this exclusion of the mere Irish from the protection of the law, we need only refer to the record cited by Davies (4 Ed. II.), where the murderer avows his commission of the act, but pleads that his victim was an Irishman. "Bene cognovit quod prædictum Johannem interfecit; dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem feloniam committere non potuit, quia dicit quod prædictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus."

† This enormity belongs properly to the preceding reign. See the case referred to by Lynch (Chief Remem. Roll. Dub. 6 & 7 Ed. I.), wherein Robert de la Roch and Adam le Waleys were indicted for an offence of this description against Margery O'Rorke; but, it being found that "the aforesaid Margery was an Irishwoman" (quod prædicta Margeria est Hibernica), the aggressors, Robert and Adam, were acquitted.

was as yet out in its first stages of accomplishment. In the year 1306, when forced to fly, soon after his coronation, it was in a small island, called Rachlin, a few miles off the north coast of Antrim, that he found a safe place of refuge, and remained concealed during the winter.

On his first arrival there, the simple islanders, unaccustomed to the sight of armed men, fled to their places of defence, with their families and cattle; but, being treated by Bruce with kindness, they submitted to him as their lord, and agreed to furnish him daily with food for 300 men. Here he remained till the approach of spring, when, having received some aid from friends in the north of Ireland, he set sail, with a fleet of thirty-three galleys and about 300 men, and proceeded on that course of chivalrous conquest which led to the establishment of his country's independence and his own deathless renown. Besides the small force he had brought with him, his brothers Thomas and Alexander had collected for him, in the north of Ireland, a body of 700 men, with which they passed over to Loch Ryan in Galloway.* Being attacked, however, in endeavouring to land, by Duncan M'Dowal, a powerful chieftain of that country, the greater number of them were put to the sword, or lost in the sea; and among the slain were found, with their heads cut off, the bodies of two Irish princes.†

A.D. 1314.

The strong interest then felt in the fortunes of the heroic Bruce became elevated, of course, into enthusiasm when full success crowned his generous struggle; and the glorious victory of Bannockburn, in ridding Scotland of the English yoke, opened a vista, also, of hope to the future fortunes of oppressed Ireland. There appeared, at last, a dawning chance of her deliverance from bondage. The proud race who had trodden down her princes and nobles, were now, themselves, not only humiliated, but unmanned, insomuch that, as an his-

* Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland.*

† "Sed hos præcipuos de interfectis in prælio obtulit domino regi, videlicet Malcolmi M'Kail, domini de Kenter, caput, et duorum regulorum Hibernensium capita," &c. — *Matthew of Westminster*, p. 458.

torian of the following age expresses it, "a hundred Englishmen would take flight at the sight of two or three Scots."*

While actively following up his victory, Bruce was waited upon by deputies from the Irish, placing themselves, and all that belonged to them, entirely at his disposal, and praying that, if he, himself, could not be spared from his royal duties, he would send them his brother Edward to be their king; nor suffer, as they said, a kindred nation to pine in bondage beneath the proud and inexorable tyranny of the English. Besides the accession of power and territory which the possession of so fine a country would afford him, Bruce saw in the proposed enterprise a ready vent for the restless ambition of his brother, who had become impatient of inferiority, even to the Bruce himself, and already laid claim to an equal share with him in the government of the Scottish realm.† Robert appears, however, to have fully appreciated the danger and difficulty of the undertaking, as some time elapsed before he adopted any serious steps towards its accomplishment; and a few attempts by his people, in boats, on the coast of Ulster, had all been vigorously repulsed.

In the mean while, sir Theobald de Vernon was appointed lord justice of Ireland; and the aspect of affairs being such as to call for more than ordinary consideration, John de Hothum, a clergyman high in Edward's confidence, was sent over to treat and consult with the earl of Ulster, and other great lords and officers, on matters relating to the interests of the king and his realm of Ireland.‡ De Hothum was the bearer, also, of writs, or letters of credence, to the different noblemen specified, ordering them to appoint a fit and competent deputy for the government of Ireland, during

* "Nempe tunc Anglis in tantum consueta adempta fuit audacia, ut a facie duorum vel trium Scotorum fugerent Angli centum."—Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*

† Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland.*—"Iste Edwardus erat homo ferox, et magni cordis valde, nec voluit cohabitare fratri suo in pace, nisi dimidium regne solus haberet; et hac de causa mota fuit guerra in Hibernia."—*Fordun.*

‡ Close Roll, 8 Ed. II. See also Rymer, for the full powers intrusted to Hothum;—"plenam committimus potentiam."

the lord justice's absence, and likewise to repair, all of them, personally, to the parliament at Westminster*, to confer with the king and his prelates and nobles concerning the state and peaceful settlement of that realm.

Early in the spring, 1315, sir Edmund Butler, who had, in the interim, been made lord justice, returned; and, on the 25th of May, Edward Bruce, with a fleet of 300 sail, appeared off the north coast of Antrim, and landed, at Larne, an army of 6000 men.† Being joined by immense numbers of the Irish, their united force overran, with scarcely any resistance, the whole earldom of Ulster; striking terror by the havoc and ruin that marked every step of their course. Whether taken by surprise, or, as it is said, distracted by personal feuds, the English lords made no adequate effort to meet this tumultuary onset; and the earl of Ulster, whose stake in the struggle was such as to stimulate even his declining energies, appears to have been the only lord who came forward promptly to face the danger, on its first burst. The town of Dundalk was stormed by the invaders, and burnt down; and the church of the Carmelite friary, in Ardee, filled with men, women, and children, was savagely set fire to, and all within it consumed.‡

A.D. 1315.

Summoning his vassals to attend him at Roscommon, De Burgh marched from thence to Athlone, where he was joined by Feidlim O'Connor, the prince of Connaught, with his provincial troops. As this is the only great native lord who is mentioned as adhering — and even in his case, but temporarily — to the side of the English§, it may be concluded that most, if not all, of the other chiefs enumerated in the king's writ, had joined the standard of the invader. With no other support than the troops of Feidlim, (the lord justice having withdrawn to Dublin,) De Burgh marched in pursuit of

* "Not as members of parliament," says Prynne, "but only as commissioners or treaters."

† Annal. Hibern. The names of the leaders of this expedition may be found enumerated by Barbour, and in Camden's *Annals*.

‡ Holinshed. — Annal. Hibern.

§ Book of Clonmacnoise.

the invaders. He had even refused, we are told, the proffered aid of the lord justice — saying to him haughtily, "You may return home: I and my vassals will overcome the Scots."* In the mean time, Bruce, while at Dundalk, had caused himself to be crowned king of Ireland†; and then, after overrunning the counties of Down, Armagh, Louth, and Meath, returned again to the north of Ulster, where, taking up a post in the neighbourhood of the river Banne, he resolved to await supplies from his own country. Here De Burgh came up with the Scottish forces, and making a vigorous attack upon them, was, after a stubborn conflict, defeated, with the loss of a great number of his followers slain, and of his brother William‡, sir John Mandeville, and sir Alan Fitz-Alan, taken prisoners.§ But Bruce had also suffered much loss; and the small force with which he had landed being now reduced in numbers and strength by the harassing service in which they had been engaged, he despatched the earl of Moray || into Scotland, for fresh succours.

The part taken by the prince of Connaught, in lending his aid to the English arms¶, could not fail to draw down odium upon him, not only in his own sept and province, but among his fellow countrymen in general; and the favourable opening afforded by this

* Dalrymple, *Annals of Scotland*.

† This ceremony, according to Lodge, took place at Knocknemelan, within half a mile of Dundalk.

‡ Sir William de Burgh, called *Lyegh* or the *Grey*. He was, on this occasion, carried into Scotland, where, leaving his sons William and Edward hostages, he gained his liberty and returned to Ireland. — *Lodge*.

§ The stratagem that led to this victory on the part of the Scots, is thus described by Dalrymple: — "The English, ignorant of the motions of an enemy whom they despised, advanced to the attack. The Scots, by the counsel of sir Philip Mowbray, left their banners flying in the camp, and, having made a circuit, suddenly assaulted the flank of the English army." — *Memoirs of Scotland*. He adds, in a note, "If I mistake not, this simple stratagem has been successfully employed in late wars."

|| Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, or Moray, who commanded the left wing of the Scottish army at Bannockburn.

¶ "The readiness with which Feidlim O'Connor co-operated with the English forces against Bruce, is one of the many proofs which history and our records furnish of the early and continued inclination of the Irish to be obedient to the laws and government of England, unless when perverted by the rulers in Dublin, and the interested settlers throughout the land by whom the persecuted natives were constantly goaded into rebellion." — Hardiman's *History of Galway*.

feeling for an attempt to supplant him in the sovereignty of Connaught, was quickly perceived, and as quickly acted upon, by his near kinsman, Roderic O'Connor *, — a worthy branch of that royal house, whose domestic discords and crimes have furnished the history of their doomed country with some of its darkest pages. Taking advantage of Feidlim's absence, this bold pretender, with the aid of the faction he had secured, made himself master of the Irish district of Connaught, compelling most of the septs to acknowledge his dominion, and give hostages for their future attachment and faith.

To punish and expel this daring usurper was now the most urgent object of the rightful prince ; and, whatsoever were his means of raising an adequate force, — for his friends, the English, were themselves too weak to assist him, — his followers, it appears, were still sufficiently strong, both in numbers and loyalty, to enable him to take the field ; and a great battle, fought between him and Roderic, ended in the death of that usurper, and the complete discomfiture of his force. Whether the defection of his own people had let in new light on Feidlim's mind, or a closer experience of the English, as allies, had inspired him with dread of them, as masters, he now, in the face of the country, renounced their alliance, and, to the great joy of his brother chieftains, throughout all Ireland, declared for Bruce and the Scots.

This step of Feidlim, to which, in most times and histories, we could point out parallels, was such as his contemporaries, according to the party which they had themselves espoused, would pronounce either noble and patriotic, or treacherous and base.

Meanwhile, the Scottish leader, following up boldly his late victory, laid siege to the stronghold of Carrickfergus ; while the Irish, rising in arms throughout Ulster and Munster, burnt, in the course of their wild ravages, the castles of Randown and Athlone ; and, at

* Book of Clonmacnoise.

the same time, three other castles, in Connaught, belonging to the earl of Ulster, were destroyed by a chief of that province, Cathal Ruadh O'Connor.*

The increasing spread of the spirit of revolt, infecting some even among the English themselves, appeared to the government to warrant the demand of some public pledge of allegiance from those on whose loyalty the safety and maintenance of the king's government depended; and a declaration was accordingly framed, A.D. wherein, after stating that "the Scottish enemies had 1315. drawn over to them all the Irish of Ireland, several of the great lords, and many English people," the subscribers pledged themselves to maintain loyally the rights of the king against all persons whatsoever.†

Bruce himself, having left some troops to carry on the siege of Carrickfergus‡, marched his army into Meath; and, being encountered there by an English force under the lord justice, Roger Mortimer, put them to rout with great slaughter, owing his success to the treacherous conduct of the De Lacys. Keeping his Christmas at a place called Loughsudy, which he set fire to, we are told, on leaving it, he pushed rapidly on into Kildare; until, arriving in the neighbourhood of the Moate of Ascul, he found himself encountered by the lord justice Butler, who, together with the lord John Fitz-Thomas, the lord Arnold Poer, and other lords and gentlemen of Leinster and Munster, had marched with a force to meet him. After a short skirmish, however, the English army, owing to some feuds and misunderstandings among its leaders, took suddenly to flight, and abandoned the field to the Scots, having lost in the action sir William Prendergast, knight, and a "right valiant esquire," Hamon le Gras.§ On the Scottish side were

* Annal. Hibern.

† Rymer, tom. iii. At the head of the subscribers to this Letter of Allegiance from the *Magnates Hiberniæ*, stands the name of John Fitz-Thomas of Offaley, the first earl of Kildare.

‡ There are some details respecting this siege, not apparently much to be relied upon, which the reader may find on referring to Barbour's *Metrical Life of Robert Bruce*.

§ In some verses of considerable merit, suggested by a visit to Jerpoint

killed Fergus of Androssan, and sir Walter Moray, with several other officers and knights, who were all buried in the church of the Friars Preachers, at Athy.

Encouraged by these evidences of weakness and discord in the English camp, the people of Munster and Leinster rose in open rebellion, and the Byrnes, O'Tooles, and O'Moores burnt the country from Arklow to Ley. But the lord justice, issuing out upon them, checked their depredations, and returned, with fourscore heads, as a trophy of his triumph, to Dublin.*

Towards the beginning of the year 1316, the forces of both parties were early in the field; but the Scots, after a few adventurous efforts, were compelled, from want of provisions, to return into Ulster. There, taking possession of Northburg Castle, they sat down quietly in their quarters, and Bruce kept his court, and took cognizance of all pleas, as composedly as if it were in times of profound peace. The forces of the English, meanwhile, were furnished with sufficient employment nearer home by the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, and others of the mountain septs of Wicklow, who continued daily to infest the neighbourhood of Dublin, having already laid waste both the town and country of Wicklow. The lord justice, therefore, finding his army too much enfeebled to enable him to cope with these marauders, and detach, at the same time, a sufficient force against the Scots, applied his concentrated means to the former object, and with so much success, that these mountain bandits were, for the time, entirely subdued.

Nor were the Scots, meanwhile, lost sight of; — a small body of troops, under the lord Thomas Mande-

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Abbey (see *Memoirs of the Family of Grace*), a tribute to the memory of this young hero may be found.

> "On Ascul's plain was heard the sound of woe,
> And, as the gentle Barrow glided by,
> All blood-tinged were its waters in their flow,
> Where heroes died — but not for victory, —
> There Hamon flourished in his flower of days," &c.

In a note on these lines, Hamon le Gras is stated to have been the commander of the force opposed to Bruce at Ascul; but no authority that I have seen warrants this assertion.

* Annal. Hibern.

ville, having been appointed to hover round and watch their movements. In the course of his performance of this service, occasional skirmishes took place between him and the enemy, in one of which he and his party slew thirty Scots; and, in another, this gallant lord was himself slain. The arrival of supplies to Bruce, from Scotland, in the spring of the year 1316, gave a new impulse to this frightful conflict; and the various horrors of massacre, burning, and waste, which had been suspended during the late temporary lull, were all now freshly renewed.

To reward the conduct of those lords who had stood firmly by the English government, through this crisis, was a measure called for as well by policy as by gratitude; and, with this view, the dignity of earl of Carrick was bestowed upon the lord justice Butler, and John Fitz-Thomas, baron of Offaley, was created earl of Kildare.* The De Burghs and Geraldines, who, even at this trying juncture, had been unable to adjourn their hereditary feuds, now consented to a temporary truce; and there appeared, among all, a firm and loyal resolution to set themselves manfully to the defence of the realm. A.D. 1316

They were soon furnished, too, with a favourable opportunity of encountering, in a pitched battle, the now favourite champion of the Irish cause, Feidlim O'Connor, who had fully atoned for his former desertion of the national banner, by a series of bold and successful irruptions into the English territory; in the course of which, many of the most gallant knights, and among others, lord Stephen de Exeter and William Prendergast, were cut off by the sword. Encouraged by this success, and the applauding voice of his fellow countrymen, to try a more extended scale of military operations, the Connaught chief now took the field, with a large force; and, having been threatened with

* There occurs a difficulty at this step, in the pedigree of the earls of Kildare, for which the reader may consult Lodge; and likewise Lynch's *View of the Legal Institutions, &c.*, p. 235. Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, declares that Kildare's patent is "the ancientest form of creation he had seen."

an incursion into his territory by William de Burgh, assisted by Richard de Bermingham, boldly marched forth to meet them.

It was near Athenry, in the county of Galway, that the two armies encountered each other; and the great battle that then ensued was, according to Irish writers, the most bloody and decisive that had ever been fought from the time of the first English invasion. This mighty struggle ended in the total defeat of the Irish, of whom not less than 11,000, it is said, fell on the field; the gallant young Feidlim, himself, being among the slain *, together with O'Kelly, chief of Hymaine †, and a number of other great lords and captains of Connaught and Meath. The achievement performed in the course of this battle, by one Hussey, a butcher of Athenry, who, finding himself alone, at the mercy of three assailants, encountered and slew them all, is much dwelt upon by the chroniclers, who add that, Hussey having been, for his bravery, dubbed a knight, his family became afterwards barons of Galtrim. Among other traditions connected with this great victory, which gave a final blow to the power of the O'Connors ‡, it is said that the walls of the town of Athenry were built from the spoils gained by that battle.

There had now elapsed more than a year, since the landing of Edward Bruce in Ireland; and, though his arms had been hitherto invariably victorious, no definite object had yet been gained by the enterprise. In this state of the war, his illustrious brother, king Robert, determined, generously, to come in person to his aid. Such was the confusion, indeed, then reigning in the councils of England, where the king and his barons were all but at war on the subject of the Or-

* "In this battle fell Felim O'Connor, from whom the Irish had expected more than from any other Gael then living." — *Annals of the Four Masters.* According to these annals this prince was then twenty-two years of age.

† "A territory in the county of Galway, bordering on the county of Roscommon, and at times extended by conquest into it, usually called Mainech." — Ware, *Antiq.*

‡ Hardiman, *Hist. of Galway.*

dinances, that Bruce had little to apprehend from that quarter during his absence. Intrusting the government, therefore, to his son-in-law, the steward, and sir James Douglas, he passed over to the aid of the new king of Ireland, with a considerable body of troops.*

The brave garrison of Carrickfergus, who had, through so many months of privation and suffering, maintained, unshrinkingly, their post, were now reduced to such extremities as to be compelled to eat the hides of beasts, and even to feed upon the dead bodies of eight Scots whom they had made prisoners. In this dreadful state, they at length surrendered to the two brother kings, on the condition, only, that the lives of the garrison soldiers should be spared.

We have seen that to the backwardness or treachery of the De Lacys was attributed the failure of the first efforts against the Scots. In a parliament, held soon after by the lord justice, Walter de Lacy was declared to be absolved from the charge; but, as an impression still prevailed that this powerful family were leagued secretly with the Scots, they deemed it prudent, in the month of December, this year, to go through the forms of an indictment and acquittal, on the charge †; and, receiving a charter of pardon from the king, they renewed their oath of fealty, and sealed it solemnly by the sacramental rite.

The two great parties engaged in this general warfare now strained every effort to put forth their utmost strength. Towards the end of the year 1316, the English had gained some important advantages over the natives. A second victory achieved in Connaught by William de Burgh and Sir John Bermingham, was attended with a loss, to the Irish, of 500 of their best troops, together with their captains, O'Connor and Mac Kelly; and, in the following month, John Loggan and Hugh Bisset put to rout the Scottish force, in Ulster,

* Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland.*—"A flying report spread up and down Dublin, that the lord Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, was now landed in Ireland to assist his brother Edward."—*Annal. Hibern.*,

† Annal. Hibern.

slaying, says the chronicler, 100 men in double armour, and 200 in single armour, besides a great number of their naked followers. Among the prisoners taken at this battle, and sent to Dublin, were sir Alan Stewart and sir John Sandale.

On the side of the Scots, meanwhile, no exertion of labour or zeal was wanting to bring into the field an army strong enough to insure a triumphant result, and thereby signalise, in a manner worthy of him, the presence of their hero, Bruce, in Ireland.* Having collected together a force, computed at 20,000 men, independent of the tumultuary army of the northern Irish, they marched as far as Slane, laying waste and burning all in their way; and from thence to Castleknock, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where, taking Hugh Tyrrel, the lord of that castle, prisoner, they established there their quarters.† During the encampment of Bruce at this place, the earl of Ulster, who had been living retired in St. Mary's Abbey, near Dublin, was, in consequence of information that he had been instrumental in bringing the Scots to Ireland, suddenly arrested by Robert de Nottingham, mayor of the city, and committed to prison in Dublin Castle.‡ The suspicion of a secret understanding between him and the Bruces, might possibly have had no other foundation than the near connection between the two families; Robert Bruce having, in the year 1302, married Ellen, one of the daughters of this earl.§ An attempt, on the part of De Burgh, to make resistance, gave rise to a fray, in which seven of his servants were killed; while the abbey of St. Mary was pillaged and partly burnt down, owing to a suspicion that the monks favoured the enemy.||

* See, for an account of the great Scottish officers who accompanied the Bruces to Ireland, a poem by the Rev. Dr. Drummond, entitled, "Bruce's Invasion;" in which the scanty materials furnished to the poet by this short episode in our history are turned to account with much skill and success.

† Annal. Hibern. — Holinshed.¶

‡ Harris, *Hist. of the City of Dublin.*

§ Lodge. — According to other authorities, a sister of the earl.

|| Harris.

The citizens of Dublin, on finding themselves menaced with a siege, declared their resolution to defend, obstinately, the city, and gave, at the same time, a proof of their readiness to make every sacrifice for this object by setting fire at once to the suburbs; though, in this operation, many of the churches were destroyed, and even the venerable fane of St. Patrick did not entirely escape. To the intrepidity, indeed, and decisive conduct of the citizens of Dublin, at this crisis, the very existence of the Irish government was mainly indebted for its preservation.* On being informed of this spirit of the inhabitants, and learning, also, that the city was well walled, the Scottish leader deemed it most prudent not to risk the delay or failure of a siege; but, under the guidance of Walter de Lacy, who, in shameless defiance of his late oath, had become the adviser and conductor of the invading army, he turned off with his forces towards Naas, and rested for a short time at Leixlip on his way †; nor is it a slight addition to the interest of that romantic spot to be able to fancy that the heroic Bruce, surrounded by his companions in arms, had once stood beside its beautiful waterfall, and wandered, perhaps, through its green glen.

Passing from Naas into the county of Kilkenny ‡, and from thence wasting the whole country as far as Limerick, the Scots, after spreading around them misery and desolation, were brought at length to feel the extremities of famine themselves; and while numbers of them perished from hunger, the remainder had no other resource than the flesh of horses for

* See, in Prynne (*Animad.* p. 60.), the writ issued, on this occasion by the king (Close Roll, 11 E. II.), granting immunity to the mayor and citizens for having set fire to the suburbs of Dublin: "Nos advertentes (says the writ) quod ea quæ urgenti necessitate guerræ fiunt pœnis legis communis pœnis subesse non debent, vobis mandamus," &c.

† "Le Brus, understanding that the city was fortified to receive him, marched towards Salmon's Leap, where Robert le Brus, king of Scotland, with Edward le Brus, the earl of Moray, the lord John Stewart, &c. encamped themselves and continued for four days."— *Annals of Ireland.*

‡ "Some vestiges of Bruce's invasion yet remain. Near Aghaboe is an old fortification, vulgarly called Scottrath, but properly Scottiswaith, or the Scot's walls or fortress."— Ledwich, *Hist. and Antiq. of Irishtown and Kilkenny.*

food.* What motive could have led the two brothers, more especially at so inclement a season, to venture on a march of such length and peril, it is by no means easy to divine. If they sought, by this movement, to establish themselves at Limerick as a sort of central position between Munster and Connaught, which might enable them to attract to their banner the chieftains of both those provinces†, the scheme, though plausible appears to have been hazarded merely on speculation, and to have entirely failed; or if, as may seem more probable, the pressure of famine compelled them to wander to such a distance, the rapine and havoc that marked their course entirely defeated the very object they had in view, and but extended to others the scourge from which they sought to relieve themselves.

Still more unaccountable than even this vague and hazardous movement of the Scots was the total inaction, meanwhile, of the English leaders; who, instead of availing themselves of the weak condition to which the invaders were reduced, to strike a blow that would, at once, sweep them from the face of the land, were quietly employed in holding parliaments, both at Kilkenny and in Dublin, to consult on the state of the country, and concert measures for the expulsion of the
A.D. Scots. On one of these occasions their debates lasted,
1317. we are told, for a whole week; and during all this delay, an army of no less than 30,000 men, under the command of sir Edmond Butler and the earl of Kildare ‡, were waiting orders to take the field.

While thus these lords, at a moment so critical, allowed the time to elapse in such helpless indecision as

* "In eadem expeditione multi fame perierunt; reliqui vero carnibus equorum usi sunt."— *Fordun*, l. xii. c. 25.

† According to the Annals of Inisfallen, so far was the cause of the Scots from finding any favour at Limerick, that a large army, composed of English and Irish, had been collected there, for the purpose of attacking them; having chosen unanimously for their leader Murtogh O'Brian, prince of Thomond; and this force, adds the annalist, were about to march against the invaders, when, "to the great dissatisfaction and disappointment of the descendants of Brian Roe, the Scots made a precipitate retreat back into Ulster." It appears, from the same annals, that another of the O'Brians, Donough, took the part of the invaders.

‡ Thomas, the second earl of Kildare.—*Lodge.*

can only be accounted for by the awing influence which the presence of Bruce, even under a cloud, was still able to exercise, that great man himself, with the half-famished remains of his army, had succeeded, by slow and painful marches, in effecting his retreat, at the beginning of May, into Ulster. Here, convinced, perhaps, of the hopelessness of any attempt to build up a durable dominion out of materials so rude and crumbling as the state of Ireland then afforded, Bruce committed to his more sanguine brother the further prosecution of the war, and, taking away with him only the earl of Moray, returned to his own dominions. Among the great and good qualities of Robert Bruce, strong sense appears, as in most such leading spirits, to have been predominant; nor could he have failed, from all he had observed, to deduce an opinion respecting the Irish, which their whole succeeding history has tended to verify,—that a people whom long misrule had accustomed to be bad subjects, could never, on their own soil, make good or trustworthy soldiers;—a result which, though easily to be accounted for, is rendered, in the case of the Irish, peculiarly striking, from their acknowledged eminence in all the best soldierly qualities, when acting on other shores.

In Easter week, the new lord justice, sir Roger Mortimer, afterwards earl of March, arrived at Youghall; and active operations were about to be commenced. The welcome news, however, of the retreat of Bruce into Ulster rendered such measures unnecessary; and the immense body of volunteers which had been collected for the occasion — called by the Irish a "rising out*" — were all dismissed to their several homes. A.D. 1317.

Thus released from the immediate pressure of the enemy's forces, the attention of the government was drawn to the case of the earl of Ulster, who was still a prisoner in the castle of Dublin, notwithstanding that a writ of mainprise had been issued for his discharge.† In defiance of law and authority, the mayor of Dublin

* Cox.

† Holinshed.—Annal. Hibern.

still kept him confined. In a parliament, however, held at Kilmainham by the lord justice, together with the lord Wogan, sir Fulke Warren, and thirty other knights, the deliverance of the earl was taken into consideration, and, at a second meeting of the same parliament, was effected; the earl having, previously, been required to give hostages, as well as to take an oath on the sacrament, that he would neither by himself, his friends, or followers, do any injury to the citizens in revenge for his imprisonment.

Among the memorable Articles of Reform framed by the Ordainers in the fourth year of this reign, there was one to the effect that "to prevent delay in the administration of justice, parliaments should be holden, at least, once, and, if need be, oftener, every year." Following in the train of that example, a petition was addressed, this year, to the king, praying that "a parliament might be held once every year in Ireland, to redress the grievance mentioned in their petition." Attempts have been made from time to time, especially in periods of high political excitement, to misrepresent the meaning and object of these enactments for the holding of annual parliaments. But it is clear that neither by the measures adopted in England for that purpose, nor by the prayer of the Irish petition just noticed, was it at all meant that parliaments should be elected every year, but simply that the parliament should, every year, hold a session. No further evidence, indeed, is wanting in support of this view of the question, than the known fact, that the very same parliament which confirmed the ordinance for the annual holding of parliaments, was itself continued, by prorogation, to another session.* With respect to the Irish petition, we learn from a writ dated at Lincoln, in the tenth year of this reign, that the prayer contained in it for a parliament to be held annually was granted.†

* In the words of the writ of summons, "ad *idem* parliamentum quod ibidem duximus *continuandum*." — Prynne, *Parliamentary Writs*, iv. 87.

† Close Roll, 10 E. II. — See Prynne, for this writ, *Animad. &c.* 261.

Through all the calamities and reverses that now befell the national cause, the spirit of the people was chiefly sustained by the exhortations of their clergy; for it is a fact worthy of notice, that the church of the Irish and the church of the English, in that country, were at this time as widely divided by their difference in language and race as they have been at any period since by their difference in creed. A strong proof of the sort of feeling with which the native ecclesiastics regarded all who belonged to the race of their English rulers is to be found in a regulation of the abbey of Mellifont, dated A. D. 1322, determining that no person whatsoever should be admitted into that abbey, until he had taken an oath that he was not of English descent.* They but followed, too, in this exclusive spirit, the example set them by their rulers, who strictly forbade, under severe penalties, the admission of natives into any of the religious communities established within the English bounds.

The disaffection towards the ruling powers so strongly manifested among the clergy was not confined to the native ecclesiastics, but spread, also, among their English or Anglo-Irish brethren; and Adam de Northampton, bishop of Ferns, was not only a favourer of the cause of the Bruces, but, as appears from a writ issued against him, August 6th, 1317, was accused of furnishing them with provisions, arms, and men.† Complaints had been made by the English monarch to pope Innocent XXII., with whom he stood high in favour, of the disloyal conduct of the Irish clergy; and a letter was addressed, accordingly, by his holiness, to the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, empowering them to admonish, and, if necessary, excommunicate, all such rebels to the English crown. The effect of this papal commission, or mandate, on the minds of the Irish,

* Cox. — "In Abbathia Melifontis talis inolevit error, quod nullus ibi admittatur in domum prædictam, nisi primitus facta fide, quod non sit de genere Anglorum."
† Ware's Bishops.

we shall have, presently, a more fit opportunity of noticing.

Throughout the remainder of this year the same chaotic confusion of public and private warfare seems to have prevailed over the whole kingdom. The untractable De Lacys, no less fierce than they were treacherous, still defied and baffled the authority of the lord justice Mortimer, who, having sent to command them to come to him, and received a refusal, then formally deputed sir Hugh Crofts to enter into treaty with them for the settlement of peace. These savage lords, however, did not scruple to murder this envoy, who was a gentleman of high repute and honour. It became, therefore, necessary to adopt strong measusre; and the lord justice, taking with him an armed force, attacked the offenders in their own territory, and, driving them from thence into Connaught, laid waste their lands, slew numbers of their followers, and declared themselves, by proclamation, traitors and outlaws.

As another specimen of the sort of example held out thus early by the gentry of the Pale to the natives, it is found on record, that sir Hugh Cannon, chief justice of the court of common pleas, was, at this time, murdered on the road between Naas and Castle Martyr by one of the family of the Berminghams.

Among the Irish, meanwhile, the old game of discord continued to be carried on with all the usual national zest; and a quarrel, which had been for some time kindling between two great captains, or princes, of Connaught, now led to a battle attended with the slaughter of 4000 of their respective followers. It was this discord among themselves, the inherent vice of the Irish nation, that paralysed then, as it has done ever since, every effort for their enfranchisement, and which, at that time, would have kept them hopeless and confirmed slaves, had even a whole army of Robert Bruces thronged to their deliverance.

The natural consequences of so long a continuance of

the scourge of warfare now showed themselves in a general famine throughout the country, during which the wretched people were reduced to such extremities that they took the dead, as we are told, out of their graves, and, boiling the flesh of the corpses in the sculls*, thus frightfully appeased their hunger; — even mothers, in this manner, feeding upon their own children. Following close on these harrowing details, we find an account of a splendid banquet given by the lord justice at the castle of Dublin, in the course of which he conferred knighthood upon John Mortimer, and four others of his train, and shortly after set sail for England, leaving all his debts, which amounted to 1000*l.*, unpaid; in consequence of which, says the chronicler, "many a bitter curse he carried with him to the sea." Before Mortimer's departure, he had condemned John de Lacy, who had been for some time in prison, and refused to plead to the indictment against him, to suffer the frightful punishment of being pressed to death.†

The spell of inaction that had hung, all this time, around Edward Bruce,—owing far more to the weakened condition of his army than to any effect produced by the anathemas of the pope, — was now on the point of being broken, and in a way fatal to his chivalrous enterprise and life. Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, had just been appointed lord justice, succeeding in that office the archbishop of Cashel, William Fitz-John. An early and abundant harvest, in all those parts of the country not wholly wasted by war, enabled

* "Some of them," says the annalist in Camden, "were so pinched with famine that they dug up graves in churchyards, and after they had boiled the flesh in the scull of the dead body, eat it up." — "As if," says Dalrymple, "famine had consumed the spits and the kettles!" This absurd story (Dr. Drummond thinks) may have arisen from the ambiguity of the word "sculls;" which frequently, as used by old writers, means a covering for the head. Thus, in Baron Finglas's *Breviate of Ireland*, "Every six yeomen to take a hackney, and a lad to bear their jacks, *sculls*, bows, and arrows."

† Holinshed — a mode of punishment called by the law, *peine forte et dure*. The annalist in Camden, not understanding this refinement of cruelty, tells us that Lacy's punishment was "to be pinched in diet, so that he died in prison."

both of the belligerent parties to resume early their operations; and Edward Bruce, taking the field with
A. D. an army amounting, as some say, to about 3000 men,
1318. marched to the Faughard, a memorable spot within two miles of Dundalk. * The other commanders of the Scottish force were Philip lord Mowbray, Walter lord de Soulis, and Alan lord Stewart, together with his three brothers. The three De Lacys, also, had joined the rebel ranks.

The English force which had marched from Dublin to encounter this army was commanded by the lord John Bermingham, having under him a number of distinguished officers, — sir Richard Tuit, sir Miles de Verdon, John Maupas, and other Anglo-Irish barons, — and being accompanied to the field by the primate of Armagh, to perform the last offices to the dying.†

According to the Scottish historians, Edward Bruce had, in the course of the three years during which he waged war in Ireland, encountered the English armies eighteen times, and been in every one of those successive battles victorious.‡ The same authorities compute his force on the present occasion to have been little more than a tenth of that of his adversaries; while the English chroniclers, on the other hand, represent the number of their own countrymen engaged to have been not one half of that of the Scots. On whichever side, in these widely differing statements, the balance of truth may be supposed to lean, it is clear, from both accounts, that the conflict was short; that victory declared for the English on the very first onset; and, moreover, that to the desperate bravery of one man that result is mainly to be attributed. Under the persuasion that the death

* "The Faughard" is an artificial mount, composed of stones and terras, with a deep trench round it, raised to the height of sixty feet, in the form of the frustum of a cone, upon the north frontiere of what is now called the English pale. There has formerly been som sort of an octagonal building on the top of it, as appears from the foundations remaining." — Wright, *Louthiana*.

† By Walsingham this prelate is represented as having been the captain of the English force. "Primate de Armach pro rege Anglorum capitaineo existente."

‡ Barbour, book xii.

of Bruce himself would give victory, at once, to the English, John Maupas, a brave Anglo-Irish knight, rushed devotedly into the enemy's ranks, to accomplish that object; and when, after the battle, the body of Bruce was discovered, that of John Maupas was found lying stretched across it.* The amount of the slain in the respective armies has been variously stated; being made, by each party, proportionate to its own calculation of the numbers originally engaged.†

Untaught by the generous example of Robert Bruce, who, after the victory of Bannockburn, treated with the courtesy of a true knight those whom he had conquered in the field‡, the English insulted over the body of his fallen brother, and, dividing it into quarters, sent them to be exhibited all over the country; while the head, which Bermingham presented as a trophy, to the English king, procured for him, in return, the earldom of Louth and a grant of the manor of Atherdee.§

We have seen that the pope, in consequence of the complaints made to him by Edward of the rebellious spirit manifested in Ireland, as well by the clergy as by the laity, had addressed a strong letter to the chief Irish prelates, empowering them to launch the

* "A pillar, in the burying ground of Faughard," says Dr. Drummond, "marks the grave of Edward Bruce. This pillar is said to have stood, within the memory of man, seven feet above the ground." He adds that "every peasant in the neighbourhood can point out the grave of king Bruce, as he is universally called."

† The following is Walsingham's account of the result: — "Occisis baronettis de Scotia 29, in eodem campo, et 5 millibus, et octingentis aliis præter milites et nobiles supradictos."

‡ "Captivos quos ceperat tam civiliter tractari fecit, tam honorifice custodiri, quod corda multorum in amorem sui indivisibiliter commutavit." — *Walsingham.* "He set at liberty," says another historian, "Ralph de Monthermer and sir Marmaduke Twenge, without ransom; and sent the dead bodies of the earl of Gloucester and lord Clifford to be interred in England with the honours due to their birth and valour." — Dalrymple, *Annals of Scotland.* An instance of the chivalrous courtesy of Robert Bruce, while in Ireland, is thus related by Mr. Tytler: — "In Ireland we find the king halting the army, while retreating, in circumstances of extreme difficulty, on hearing the cries of a poor lavendere, or washerwoman, who had been seized with labour, commanding a tent to be pitched for her, and taking measures for her pursuing her journey when she was able to travel."—*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii.

§ Rymer, t. iii. p. 767. — This grant "shows (says Dalrymple) the manner in which earls were created at that time. It confers twenty pounds *per annum* upon him for his services in the battle of Dundalk, under the name of earl of Louth, and gives that earldom to him and the heirs male of his body by the service of one fourth of a knight's fee."

censures of the church against all those, whether lay or ecclesiastical, who were guilty of disaffection to the ruling powers. This interposition, in aid of the views of their haughty oppressors, was felt the more keenly by the great body of the Irish chieftains, as coming from a quarter to which the ancient fame of their country for sanctity and learning might well have encouraged them to look for sympathy and support. In the warmth of this feeling, a memorable remonstrance was addressed to the pope by O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, speaking as the representative of his brother chiefs and of the whole Irish nation. "It is with difficulty," say they, "we can bring ourselves to believe that the biting and venomous calumnies with which we, and all who espouse our cause, have been invariably assailed by the English, should have found admittance, also, into the mind of your holiness, and have been regarded by you as founded in fact and truth." Lest such an impression, however, should, unluckily, have been produced, they begged to lay before him their own account of the origin and state of their nation, — "if state it could be called*," — and of the cruel injuries inflicted upon them and their ancestors by some of the English monarchs and their unjust ministers, as well as by the English barons born in Ireland; — injuries, they add, inhumanly commenced, and still wantonly continued. It would thus be in his power, to judge of them and their rulers, and determine on which side the real grounds for complaint and resentment lay.

After this introduction, the Irish chiefs proceed to give a rapid sketch of the early history of their country; and, beginning with the sons of Milesius, lay claim to a succession of kings of Ireland through no less a period than 4000 years, ending in the year 1170, when Adrian, an Englishman by birth, and still more, as they add, by affection and prejudice, delivered

* "De ortu nostro et statu, si tamen status dici debeat, ac etiam de injuriis crudelibus nostris, nostrisque progenitoribus, per nonnullos reges Angliæ, eorumque ministros iniquos, et barones Anglicos in Hibernia natos, inhumaniter illatis, et continuatis adhuc."

up a country which its own line of kings had preserved sacred from foreign dominion, through so many ages, to be the helpless prey of a horde of tyrants, far more cruel than the fangs of ravening wild beasts.* From that fatal moment, they allege, no device or expedient that fraud or violence, in their most odious forms, could suggest, had been left untried by the English intruders to extirpate the native race, and appropriate to themselves the sole dominion over the soil. In this design, too, they had so far succeeded, that while all the fairest portion of the island had been gradually usurped by them, the rightful proprietors were driven to the bogs and mountains, and, even there, were compelled to fight for some dreary spot upon which to exist.

The state of a country thus circumstanced, could not be otherwise, these chiefs add, than one of constant civil war; and it was, therefore, not wonderful that the crimes and miseries which are ever attendant on domestic strife, — the murder and rapine, the mean frauds, the detestable perfidies, which it engenders, — should, with both parties, have grown so habitual as to become a second nature.† So great had been the sacrifice of human life, in this struggle, that, without counting the numbers carried off by famine, and long grievous imprisonment, no less than 50,000 on each side had fallen by the sword in the field.‡ "Alas!" they exclaim, "we have now no directing head to watch over us, to enlighten our counsels, and amend our errors."§

The safety of their church, they bitterly complain, had been brought into peril, not merely in a worldly and temporal sense, but as regarded the eternal safety of their

* "Sicque nos privans honore regio, nostri absque culpa, et sine rationabili causa, crudelioribus omnium bestiarum dentibus tradidit lacerandos."

† "Unde propter hæc et multa alia similia inter nos et illos implacabiles inimicitiæ et guerræ perpetuæ sunt exortæ. Ex quibus secutæ sunt occasiones mutuæ, depredationes assiduæ, rapinæ continuæ, fraudes et perfidiæ detestabiles et nimis crebræ."

‡ "Plusquam quinquaginta millia hominum à tempore quo facta est usque in præsens de utraque natione, præter consumptos fame et afflictos carcere, gladio ceciderunt."

§ "Sed, proh dolor! ex defectu capitis, omnis correctio nobis defecit et debita emenda."

own souls; and while such was the extremity to which the act of the Roman pontiff had reduced them, none of those conditions on which he had granted the dominion of Ireland to Henry and his successors had been fulfilled by any of those princes. According to the bull confirming this grant, the English king had solemnly promised to enlarge the boundaries of the Irish church, and preserve all its rights and privileges untouched and entire; to inform the people, by wholesome laws and sound moral discipline; to implant everywhere, throughout the land, the seeds of virtue, and eradicate those of vice; and, finally, to pay to St. Peter the stipulated pension of 1*d.* a-year from every house.

Such were the conditions of the papal grant; but the kings of England, they declare, had, in every respect, departed from them. Instead of the boundaries of the church having been enlarged, it had, on the contrary, been so much encroached upon, that some of the cathedrals had been despoiled of half their possessions; while, to such an extent was ecclesiastical liberty violated, that bishops and prelates themselves were, by the mere order of the king's ministers, cited to appear, and then arrested and cast into prison*; till, at length, from long endurance of such treatment, the spirit of the clergy had sunk into servile submission, nor could they now summon the courage to whisper, even to his holiness, the grievances and insults under which they suffered. Such being "their own unworthy silence, under such wrongs, it is not for us," add these indignant chiefs, "to utter a syllable in their behalf."

With respect to the mass of the population, whom their new rulers had pledged themselves to instruct by means of salutary laws and sound moral discipline, such was the manner, they allege, in which this promise has been carried into effect, that, by degrees, all that holy and dovelike simplicity which had once characterised the Irish nation, was transformed, by the example and

* "Per ministros enim regis Angliæ in Hibernia citantur, arrestantur capiuntur, et incarcerantur indifferenter episcopi et prælati."

society of these strangers, into low serpentine craft.* Depriving the people of their own ancient and written laws, — with the exception of a few which they would not suffer to be wrung from them, — these foreigners replaced them by others of their own dictation, conceived in the bitterest spirit of hatred towards the people for whom they legislated; and, in more than one instance, providing deliberately for their extermination.

To give some idea of the iniquity of the code under which they suffered, the writers of the remonstrance cite the following instances: — 1. That no Irishman†, however aggrieved, could bring an action in the king's courts; though, against himself, an action might be brought by any person who was not an Irishman. 2. That if an Englishman murdered a native, however innocent and exalted in rank might be the latter, or whether he were layman or ecclesiastic, or even a bishop, no cognizance would be taken of the crime in the king's courts.‡ 3. That no native woman married to an Englishman could, on his death, be admitted to the claim of dower. 4. That it was in the power of any English lord to set aside the last wills of the natives subjected to him, and dispose of their property according to his own pleasure, appropriating it all, if such was his inclination, to himself. When crime was thus sanctioned by the strict letter of the law, what a host of evils must have been let loose by its spirit!

The remonstrants add that, even by churchmen among the English, the killing of an Irishman was not regarded as a crime; and they refer to several instances of natives having been murdered with impunity; some of them, they say, under circumstances too atro-

* "Quòd sancta et columbina ejus simplicitas, ex eorum cohabitatione et exemplo reprobo, in serpentinam calliditatem mirabiliter est mutata."

† "Quod omni homini non Hibernico licet super quacunque indifferenter actione convenire Hibernicum quemcunque; sed Hibernicus quilibet sive clericus sit, sive laicus, solis prælatis exceptis, ab omni repellitur actione eo ipso."

‡ "Quando aliquis Anglicus perfidè et dolosè interfecit hominem Hibernicum, quantumcunque nobilem et innocentem, sive clericum, sive laicum, sive regularem, sive secularem, etiam si prælatus Hibernicus interfectus fuerit, nulla correctio vel emenda fit in dicta curia de tali nefario occisore."

cious to be easily credited. Among other proofs of the feeling of the English clergy, on this point, it is stated that a certain brother Simon, who was of the order of the friars minors, and also a near relation of the bishop of Connor, had been heard to say, but the year before, in the court and presence of Edward Bruce, that he thought it no sin to slay an Irishman; and that, if he himself were to commit such an act, he should not the less celebrate mass after it. *

From a total dissimilarity, as they allege, between the English and themselves, not only in race and language, but in every other respect, — a dissimilarity greater, they declare, than word or pen can adequately describe, — there appeared no longer the slightest hope that they could ever live peacefully together. So great was the pride and lust of governing, on one side, and such the resolution, on the other, to cast off the intolerable yoke, that, as there never yet had been, so never, in this life, *would* there be, peace or truce between the two nations.† They add, that they themselves had already sent letters to the king and his council, through the hands of John Hothum, now bishop of Ely, representing the wrongs and outrages they had so long suffered from the English, and proposing a settlement by which all such lands as were known to be rightfully theirs should be secured, in future, to them, by direct tenure from the crown; or even agreeing, in order to save the further effusion of blood, to submit to any friendly plan proposed by the king himself, for a fair division of the lands between them and their adversaries.

To this proposition, forwarded to England two years before, no answer, they say, had been returned. "Wherefore," continue they, "let no one feel surprise if we now endeavour to work out our own deliverance, and defend, as we can, our rights and liberties against the

* "Quod non est peccatum hominem Hibernicum interficere, et si ipsemet istud committeret, non minus ob hoc missam celebraret."

† "Quod sicut nec fuit hactenus, nec unquam de cætero inter nos et illos sincera concordia esse vel fieri poterit in hac vita."

narsh and cruel tyrants who would destroy them." In conclusion, they announce to the pope, that, for the more speedy and effectual attainment of their object (this spirited remonstrance having been addressed to his holiness before the Scottish war), they have called to their aid the illustrious earl of Carrick, Edward de Bruce, a lord descended from the same ancestors with themselves, and have made over to him, by letters patent, all the rights which they themselves, as rightful heirs of the kingdom, respectively possess, — thereby constituting him king and lord of Ireland.

By some of those writers, who allow the spirit of religious partisanship to infect their views, even of those periods in our history when the same creed prevailed in both islands, this memorable Remonstrance of the chiefs and gentry of Ireland has been represented as really issuing from the Irish prelates and clergy.* It is, however, manifest, that the real object of this spirited document was to denounce, and indignantly protest against, that ultramontane party, in the Irish church, which was now leagued with the Roman court in abetting the English king's projects for the subjugation of Ireland.† The impressive passage in which this servility, on the part of the church, is so bitterly branded, sufficiently sets aside the perverse notion that the native clergy took any leading share in drawing up the document.

At the commencement of this reign, the cruel persecution and spoliation to which, in consequence of their great wealth, the religious order of Knights Templars had been

* See Phelan's *History of the Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland.* This writer, however, thus eloquently does justice both to the matter and the manner of the Irish Remonstrance: — "When it urges, on their behalf, that, 'besides the sufferers by famine and disease, 50,000 of their countrymen had already suffered by the Saxon sword;' and 'that there is no longer a spot in their native country which the arrogance of the strangers will allow them to call their own;' it makes an appeal, the truth of which is supported by our wretched annals, and the force acknowledged by human nature."

† "Here again," says Dr. O'Connor (*Columbanus ad Hibernos*, No. 2.), "the ultra-montanes interfered; and England, being then in amity with Rome, they confederated with her and with the Roman court, against their native country."

subjected in most parts of Europe, was also extended, though in a more mitigated shape, to England and Ireland; — the combined influence of the pope and Philip le Bel (the latter the chief author of the conspiracy) having been exerted to prevail on Edward to join in their unprincipled scheme. To what extent the order of Knights Templars had established themselves in Ireland does not very clearly appear; but the orders for their seizure and imprisonment were issued in the first year of his reign; and, in the year 1308, all the Knights Templars in England and Ireland were apprehended on the same day. The process against them lasted for three years, and was conducted in Dublin with great solemnity before Richard Balbyn, minister of the order of the Dominicans, friar Philip de Slane, lecturer of the same order, and friar Hugh St. Leger. The charges brought against them appear to have been most feebly supported; but already the general voice of Europe had pronounced their condemnation, and the lands and possessions belonging to them in Ireland were bestowed upon a rival order, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, long established at Kilmainham.*

* Archdall, *Monast. Hibern.* 223.

CHAP. XXXVII.

EDWARD III.

STATE OF IRELAND ON THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. — DISSENSIONS AMONG THE GREAT ENGLISH FAMILIES. — IRISH AGAIN PETITION FOR THE ADVANTAGES OF ENGLISH LAW — AGAIN WITHOUT SUCCESS. — MASSACRE OF ENGLISH BY ENGLISH IN LEINSTER AND MUNSTER. — MAURICE FITZ-THOMAS CREATED EARL OF DESMOND. — LAVISH GRANTS OF PALATINATES. — O'BRIEN TAKES THE FIELD IN GREAT FORCE. — FEUDS BETWEEN THE DE BURGHS AND THE EARL OF DESMOND. — SEVERE MEASURES OF SIR ANTHONY LUCY. — DESMOND REFUSES TO ATTEND PARLIAMENT — IS ARRESTED AND THROWN INTO PRISON. — LORD WILLIAM BERMINGHAM EXECUTED. — ANNOUNCED INTENTION OF THE KING TO VISIT IRELAND — HIS REAL PURPOSE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST SCOTLAND. — MURDER OF THE YOUNG EARL OF ULSTER. — ADOPTION OF IRISH LAWS AND USAGES BY THE DE BURGHS AND OTHER ENGLISH. — THE LORD OF KERRY JOINS THE IRISH — IS TAKEN PRISONER BY THE EARL OF DESMOND. — SEVERE MEASURES AGAINST THE ENGLISH BORN IN IRELAND — ANNOUNCED RESUMPTION OF ALL GRANTS AND GIFTS MADE TO THEM. — GENERAL INDIGNATION OF THE OLD ENGLISH SETTLERS. — A PARLIAMENT SUMMONED, WHICH DESMOND AND OTHER LORDS REFUSE TO ATTEND. — A CONVENTION HELD BY THESE LORDS AT KILKENNY — REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED BY THEM TO THE KING. — ADMINISTRATION OF SIR RALPH UFFORD — TAKES SUMMARY MEASURES AGAINST THE REFRACTORY LORDS — HIS TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF THE EARL OF KILDARE. — UFFORD'S DEATH AND CHARACTER. — EARL OF KILDARE RELEASED FROM PRISON — ATTENDS THE KING AT CALAIS, AND IS KNIGHTED FOR HIS VALOUR — GRACIOUS CONDUCT OF EDWARD TO HIM AND THE EARL OF DESMOND. — DESMOND APPOINTED LORD JUSTICE — HIS DEATH. — USEFUL ORDINANCES FOR IRELAND. — DISQUALIFYING LAWS AGAINST THE NATIVES. — THE DUKE OF CLARENCE, THE KING'S SON, MADE LORD LIEUTENANT — HIS PREJUDICES AGAINST THE ENGLISH SETTLERS — SUCCEEDS IN DEFEATING THE IRISH FORCES, AND RETURNS TO ENGLAND — SENT OVER AGAIN AS LORD LIEUTENANT, AND HOLDS A PARLIAMENT. — THE FAMOUS STATUTE OF KILKENNY — ITS TYRANNICAL ENACTMENTS. — ADMINISTRATION OF SIR WILLIAM WINDSOR — WANTON ACTS OF POWER COMMITTED BY HIM. — MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

During the reigns of the first and second Edwards, the power of the English crown, in Ireland, had con-

siderably declined. Even in its best time, the footing gained in that realm was but partial and local, and a large portion even of this limited sovereignty fell away, during the reigns that followed, from the crown. The wars of Henry III. and the two succeeding princes, in France and Scotland, left no disposable force or treasure for the reduction of Ireland; and even of the portion of that kingdom already conquered, the greater part had been withdrawn from the royal jurisdiction, by those lavish grants to a few favoured individuals, beginning with the first adventurers, which had been the means of wantonly parcelling out, among nine or ten English lords, almost the whole of the kingdom.

A. D. 1327. The reign of the third Edward will be found to differ but little from those of his predecessors, in the odious picture it presents of a cruel and rapacious aristocracy let loose upon a defenceless, because divided, people. It would seem, indeed, almost incredible that, in the chivalrous days of the Edwards, there should have been found so many of high-born and warlike English noblemen to take a part in the rude and inglorious frays of Anglo-Irish warfare. But, besides the temptations so fertile a field of plunder held forth, a nearer insight into the homes and habits of the English nobility of that period might warrant the conclusion, that they themselves were still very backward in civilisation*; and that, not only in the general outline, but in some of the features also of their social condition, they differed not very much from those great Irish chieftains against whom they were now employing all the worst arts of buccaneering warfare. Like the chieftain, the English baron of that day was a kind of independent potentate, regarding only the conventional law of his own class, and sub-

* The following is the character given by Hume, of the English baron of this period: — "The produce of his estates was consumed in rustic hospitality, by himself or his officers. A great number of idle retainers, ready for any disorder or mischief, were maintained by him: all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his disposal. Instead of applying to courts of justice, he usually sought redress by open force and violence. The great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who, if they submitted to any regulations at all, were less governed by the municipal law than by a rude species of the law of nations."

mitting but by force to any other; while constantly surrounded by idle and ruffianly retainers, ever ready, at his bidding, for rapine and mischief, he bore, like the Irish chief, too close an affinity to the worst species of king, to be ever expected to prove, under any circumstances, a good subject.

During the administration of Thomas Fitz-John, earl of Kildare, who was the lord justice, at the commencement of this reign*, there broke out violent hostilities between Maurice Fitz-Thomas, afterwards earl of Desmond, assisted by the Butlers and Berminghams, and the lord Arnold Poer, having on his side the powerful family of the De Burghs. The cause alleged for the general quarrel which thus committed them, in battle array, against each other, only shows how combustible must have been the state of feeling which so slight an insult — for insult, we are told, it was deemed — could provoke into explosion. The lord Arnold Poer, it seems, had called Maurice Fitz-Thomas †, in derision, "a rhymer;" and hence the summons of the forces, on both sides, to the field. The consequences of the battle, to the Poers and the De Burghs, were most disastrous; great numbers of both these families were slain, while others were driven into Connaught, and their lands despoiled and ruined. In vain did the lord justice endeavour to compose this senseless strife; his efforts proved wholly unavailing. The unlucky aggressor, Arnold Poer, fled into England, — leaving the field to the triumphant Butlers and their confederates, who, after having wreaked their vengeance by laying waste his lands, were proceeding to extend their ravages still farther, when at length the government, taking alarm, strengthened the guards of the cities and towns, and made preparations for their defence. A. D. 1328.
Mandates were issued also by the king, on hearing of the rebellious spirit manifested by these barons, in which, expressing his surprise and displeasure at the accounts that had reached him, he enjoined the immediate sub-

* See Rymer, tom. iv. 295., for a writ addressed to the earl of Kildare, at this time, concerning the custody of the castles near the marches.
† Annal. Hibern.

mission of both parties to his representative, the lord justice.*

Before the arrival, however, of this mandate, the confederates themselves had already adopted the course it enjoined, and, despatching an envoy to the justiciary, had assured him they meant no injury to the king or his cities, but had assembled solely for the purpose of avenging themselves on their enemies. They now added, that they were ready to make their appearance before him at Kilkenny, and there defend themselves against the charge.† Accordingly they met, in that city, the lord justice and the king's council, and humbly sued for a charter of pardon or peace ; but their offence having been much too serious to admit of such easy remission, further time was taken by the council for the consideration of their suit.

Meanwhile, the Irish of Leinster, taking advantage, in their turn, of the dissensions of their rulers, had set up Donald Mac Art Mac Morrough, a descendant of the ancient princes of that province, to be their king and general; and, making an irruption into the English settlement, advanced with a numerous force within two miles of Dublin ; where, being attacked by sir Henry Traherne, they were all put to rout, and their chief, Mac Morrough, himself, made prisoner. The English general consented, for the sum of 200*l.*, to spare this chieftain's life ; and he was, soon after, enabled to escape from the castle of Dublin, through the help of another Englishman, Adam Nangle, who conveyed to him a rope for that purpose. This kindness, however, proved fatal to Nangle himself ; for he was tried for the act, and executed.‡

A. D. 1328. On the death of the earl of Kildare, the second of that title, at Maynooth§, Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, and also lord chancellor of Ireland, was appointed to the office of lord justice. In the same year, James Butler, second earl of Carrick, was created earl of Ormond||, having, at the same time, granted to him

* Rymer, iv. 356. † Annal. Hibern. ‡ Ibid.
§ Lodge. || Carte, *Introduct.*

the regalities, liberties, knights' fees, and other royal privileges of the county of Tipperary, with all the rights of a palatine in that county, for life. During the administration of Roger Outlaw, the lords Arnold Poer and William de Burgh having returned into Ireland, the principal leaders of the late disgraceful baronial feuds were induced, through the interposition of the lord justice, to consent to terms of peace; and between the Poers and De Burghs on one side, and the Butlers, Geraldines, and Berminghams on the other, a reconciliation was happily effected, in celebration of which the earl of Ulster gave a great feast in the castle of Dublin; and, on the following day, the lord Maurice Fitz-Thomas commemorated the event by a similar banquet A. D. in St. Patrick's church; though, as the chronicler, some- 1329. what scandalised, remarks, it was then the holy season of Lent.*

Though so frequently repulsed in their efforts to obtain the protection of English law, the natives again, in the second year of this monarch's reign, preferred a petition to the crown, praying that the Irish might be permitted to use the law of England without being obliged to purchase charters of denization to qualify them for that privilege.† The writ of the king recommending this prayer to the "unprejudiced" attention of the lord justice differs little in phrase or tone from those of his predecessors on the same point; nor is anything more said of the petition or its significant prayer, during the remainder of this king's reign.

Under the government of sir John Darcy new in- 1329. surrections broke forth in the provinces of the south; and while Mac Geoghegan took the field at the head of his followers in Westmeath, O'Brian of Thomond held forth the signal of insurrection to the septs of Munster. At this critical juncture, the infatuated English were employed in murdering each other; and a treacherous massacre which took place in Orgiel, exhibited the frightful spectacle of not less than 160 Englishmen,

* Annal. Hibern. † Prynne, 266.

among whom were the earl of Louth, Talbot of Malahide, and many more gentlemen of rank, lying basely butchered by their own countrymen, the Gernons, Savages, and others. Almost at the same time, the Barrys, Roches, and other English in Munster, were guilty of a no less atrocious and sweeping act of carnage upon the lord Philip Bodnet, Hugh Condon, and about 140 of their followers, all of whom were, at one fierce swoop, made victims to the factious rage and perfidious cruelty of their own countrymen.

It was, assuredly, but just retribution that, in the fair and open field of fight, the curse of defeat should light upon the arms of those who had dishonoured the name of soldier by such base and craven cruelty; and, in every direction, discomfiture and disaster appear to have attended the course of the English troops. The force marched by lord Thomas Butler into West Meath was put to rout near Mullingar, with considerable loss, by the chief, Mac Geoghegan. Sir Simon Genevil, in like manner, suffered a signal defeat at Carbery, in the county of Kildare; while Brian O'Brian ravaged, at will, over the whole country, and, among other achievements, burnt down the towns of Athassel and Tipperary.

A. D. 1330. Unable to cope with so general a spirit of insurrection, the lord justice saw that he was left no other resource than to call in the aid of that powerful and popular nobleman, Maurice Fitz-Thomas, who had a few months before * been created earl of Desmond, with a grant, at the same time, of all the regalities, liberties, and other royal privileges of the county of Kerry.†

Thus were two more powerful seignories added to the many already created, empowering a proud and upstart oligarchy to domineer over the whole land. The distracting oppression, indeed, of petty kingship under which the country, in its old, independent state, groaned,

* Lodge.

† With the exception, as usual, of the four pleas, thus particularised in the words of the patent: "Quatuor placitis, videlicet, *incendio, raptu, forestal', et thesauro invento*, ac etiam *proficuo de croceis*, duntaxat exceptis."

was now but replaced by a form of toparchy still more insulting and odious, inasmuch as the multifold scourge had passed from the hands of natives into those of aliens and intruders. The palatinate now granted to Desmond formed the ninth of those petty sovereignties into which the kingdom had been wantonly parcelled in order to enrich and exalt a few favoured individuals, not more to the injury of the people than to the usurpation and abuse of the prerogatives of the crown.* For, in fact, these palatine lords had royal jurisdiction throughout their territories; made barons and knights, and erected courts for civil and criminal causes, as well as for the management of their own revenues, according to the forms in which the king's courts were established in Dublin.† They made their own judges, sheriffs, and coroners; nor did the king's writ run in the palatinates, though they comprised more than two parts of the English colonies. ‡

In compliance with the desire of the government, and under a promise from them of king's pay, Desmond, at the head of nearly 10,000 men, having the O'Brians for his allies, took the field against the combined septs of Leinster, the O'Nolans, O'Morroughs, and O'Dempsys; and laying waste all their lands, compelled them to submit and give hostages, having retaken the castle of Ley from the O'Dempsys. The funds of the government being found insufficient to defray the expenses of this war, or discharge the king's pay promised to Desmond, that lord had recourse, for the

* "Of this sort are the grants of counties palatine in Ireland, which, though at first were granted upon good consideration when they were first conquered, for that those lands lay then as a very border to the wild Irish, subject to continual invasion, so as it was needful to give them great privileges for the defence of the inhabitants thereof; yet now that it is no more a border, nor frontiered with enemies, why should such a privilege be any longer continued?" — Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland.*

† Davies. — According to Lynch, the jurisdiction of the Irish seignories was not quite so extensive as it is represented by sir John Davies. "It is not easy (he says) to determine precisely the jurisdiction belonging to palatinates, or 'contes paleis;' but if it was thought that in Ireland there at any time existed such a palatinate as that of Chester, where a subject created his own barons, held his own parliament, &c., such an opinion will prove wholly untenable."—*View of the Legal Institutions*, &c.

‡ Ibid.

subsistence of his troops, to the old Irish exaction of coyne and livery, — a mode of taxation which he himself had first brought into use among the English (having resorted to it, in the preceding reign, for the support of the war against Bruce), and which his cousin, the earl of Kildare, now readily adopted, after his example.

The following year was but a repetition of the same violent scenes, with the same turbulent actors on both sides engaged in them; and under the two several heads of English dissension and Irish insurrection, may be classed all that we find recorded of its stormy course. The unconquered Mac Geoghegans were again up in the county of Meath; but being attacked by the earls of Ulster and Ormond, they were put to flight, after a spirited resistance, leaving the sons of three Irish kings among the slain. Scarcely had the Mac Geoghegans been thus dispersed, when a yet more troublesome enemy, O'Brian, appeared in the field; and a parliament was held forthwith in Kilkenny, at which there were present, besides the archbishop of Dublin, the earls of Ulster and Ormond, the lord William Bermingham, and the lord Walter de Burgh of Connaught; each bringing with him a considerable force, for the purpose of marching against O'Brian, and dislodging him from a strong post in the neighbourhood of Cashel, of which he had got possession. *

A. D. 1330.

But, even while thus engaged on a great public service, there were some of these self-willed and contentious lords who could not refrain from indulging their own personal vengeance; and the De Burghs, on their way to Limerick in pursuit of O'Brian, wantonly wasted and plundered the earl of Desmond's lands, carrying away with them considerable booty. This outrage aroused all the animosity between the two families; and to such alarming lengths did their feuds proceed, that the lord justice found himself compelled to seize on the heads of both factions, and to commit the two lords,

* Annal. Hibern.

Maurice of Desmond and the earl of Ulster, to the custody of the marshal of Limerick.*

During these feuds of the English among themselves, the wretched natives, taking advantage of the general confusion, and perhaps intoxicated with opening prospects of revenge, committed, in Leinster, one of those savagely cruel acts which occur but too commonly in their history, and show, as contrasted with the general kindliness of the national temper, of what anomalous ingredients human character may be composed. While A. D. 1331 pursuing their course of ravage, this mob found assembled, at their devotions, in the church of Freinston, about fourscore people; who, perceiving that their own doom was inevitable, thought only of saving the priest, and earnestly besought of the soldiers to spare his life. These ruffians, however, deaf to all entreaties, interposed their javelins to prevent the holy man's escape, though he held the Host in his hand; and then, setting fire to the building, completed their work of sacrilege by burning church, priest, and congregation together. But this inhuman rabble was not suffered to go unpunished. The English citizens of Wexford, gathering courage from despair, ventured to attack their brute force, and, putting four hundred of them to the sword, spread such a panic among the remainder, that they all fled in confusion, and were most of them drowned in the river Slaney.

At the commencement of the following year, we find 1331. the king, by his writ, appointing the earl of Ulster to be his lord-lieutenant; while, at the same time, sir Anthony Lucy, a man of high reputation in England, but of a severe and unbending character, was sent over as lord justice, bringing with him the lord Hugh de Lacy, who had been pardoned, and was now restored to some share of favour. The administration of this governor commenced under favourable auspices. Little more than a week had elapsed, from the time of his arrival, before a great victory was gained over the Irish,

* Annal. Hibern. — Marleburrough's Chronicle.

at a place called Finnagh, in Meath. The new lord-justice, however, had come strongly prepossessed with those jealous prejudices and suspicions which used, in former times, to be harboured only against the natives, but which, of late, had begun to be extended to those, also, among the old English, who, whether from interest, love of popularity, or some more generous motive, sought to recommend themselves to the good will of the oppressed native population. Among the most distinguished of these Anglo-Irish was Maurice earl of Desmond, whose popular qualities, added to his great wealth and station, gave him an influence throughout the country which was found, in many instances, so powerful as to throw the authority of the government itself into the shade. To sir Anthony Lucy, who had come prepared to uphold sternly the powers intrusted to him, this rival ascendency was, of course, peculiarly obnoxious, and the jealousy it excited in his mind soon found an opportunity of exploding.

A parliament, summoned by him to meet at Dublin shortly after his arrival, having exhibited but a thin attendance of great lords, he thought right to adjourn it to the 7th of July, when it was held at Kilkenny; and there Thomas, earl of Kildare, with other lords and gentlemen who had on the former occasion absented themselves, gave their attendance, and were freely pardoned; having first been sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and the relics of the saints, to bear allegiance and keep the peace for the future. There were, however, many of the powerful lords, and, among the rest, Maurice of Desmond, who had pointedly withheld their presence; and an outbreak of the Irish at the same time in Leinster, where they burnt the castle of Ferns, having appeared to the lord justice to indicate concert between these rebels and the disaffected lords, he proceeded summarily to act upon this suspicion. In the month of September the lord Henry Mandeville was, by warrant from the chief justice, apprehended; and in the following month the earl of Desmond was, under the same authority, arrested

at Limerick; and being brought from thence to Dublin, was there made prisoner in the castle.* Several other arrests took place under the same suspicion, and, in some instances, it would appear, not without just grounds; as the lord William Bermingham, who, together with his son, was seized at Clonmel in the February following, was, notwithstanding his splendid military career, executed at Dublin; — his son Walter only escaping the same fate in consequence of his being in holy orders.† A. D. 1332.

Shortly after the new lord justice's arrival, articles were sent over by the king for the reformation of the state of Ireland.‡ It was not the fault, as we have seen, either of this monarch or of his predecessors, that the great benefits of English law had not been extended to the natives in general; and one of the ordinances now transmitted ‡ was framed with a view to this wise policy, being couched in the following terms: — "That one and the same law be observed to the Irish and the English;" — an exception being added, in the case of betages §, who, like the English villain, were entirely in the power of their lords. But this royal mandate, like all the rest, in the same liberal spirit, that had preceded it, was rendered null by the blind selfishness of the magnates to whom it was addressed. Another of these ordinances was directed against that standing evil, absenteeism.

The public announcement at this time, by the king, of his intention to pass over into Ireland ||, and apply himself personally to the task of reforming the state of that realm, might well be classed with those other dawnings of better fortune which now and then opened upon 1331 to 1332.

* Annal. Hibern. † Hanmer.—Marleburrough's Chronicle.

‡ Prynne, 267.—Cox.

§ "Quod una et eadem lex fiat tam Hibernicis quam Anglicis; excepta servitute Betagiorum, penes dominos suos, eodem modo quo usitatum est in Anglia de Villanis." The term *Betage* is thus explained by Harris: — "It would seem to appear that *villains, natives, originaries* or *original tenants*, and *betages* import much the same thing; and that the *English villain* and *Irish betagh* is the same person." — Ware, *Antiquities, &c.*, chap. 20.

|| Rymer, "De Passagio Regis in Hiberniam meditato," t. iv. p. 503.

hapless Ireland, merely to close again in darkness were it not manifest that all the preparations made ostensibly for the king's Irish visit were but as a blind, to divert attention from the formidable expedition then preparing against Scotland. But, although the advantage of the king's presence was lost to the Irish*, the very steps taken in contemplation of his visit were such as, by quickening the zeal of the subordinate authorities, and directing their attention to abuses likely to be sifted, could not fail to be of at least temporary service. Thus, among other politic measures, it was commanded that all persons possessing lands in Ireland should repair thither for the advantage and defence of that kingdom; and likewise that search should be made through the king's records, to learn what steps had been taken for the amendment of the state of the Irish. †

The king had sent writs to the earl of Ulster and other great lords, announcing his intention of coming; and his summons to the absentees, dated January 28th, 1332, requiring them to accompany him, and recover their possessions out of the hands of the rebels, is addressed to Thomas earl of Norfolk, and twenty-two other English lords and gentlemen. But the secret scheme which had been all this time maturing against Scotland was now ripe for execution; and the mask he had worn towards both countries might with impunity be cast aside. All the supplies, therefore, that had been granted for his pacific visit to Ireland, he, without any scruple, appropriated to his memorable Scottish warfare; and found, in the brilliant victory at Halidon Hill, a result far more suited to his chivalrous tastes than any that the precious, but slow and remote, triumphs of the legislator could furnish.

The only measure which appears to have been taken by him towards the pacification of Ireland, was the issue of writs to the lord justice, and other public

* Rymer, "De Passagio Regis ad partes Hiberniæ prorogato," tom. iv. p. 523.

† Cox.

authorities, empowering them to admit to the king's peace all disaffected persons, as well English as Irish, upon such terms as the lord justice and his council should deem honourable and expedient.

In the month of June, this year, William de Burgh, the third earl of Ulster, was treacherously murdered near Carrickfergus by his own servants; — an event which, far more from the youth and exalted station of the particular victim, than from any rarity of such crimes, excited a strong and general sensation throughout the country.* One feature of savage life that marked this murder was the great number of persons engaged in it. The lord justice, we are told, on hastening to Carrickfergus to see the delinquents duly punished, found that the country people had anticipated his purpose, and killed 300 of the murderers and their abettors in one day. For a long time after the following clause used to be inserted in all pardons, "With the exception of the death of the late earl of Ulster." † A. D. 1333.

The young lord, who was thus cut off in his twenty-first year, left an only child, a daughter, the heiress of his great possessions, who was married, in the year 1352, to Lionel, third son of king Edward III. This prince was then created, in her right, earl of Ulster, and also lord of Connaught; and, after him, these titles and possessions were enjoyed, through marriage or descent, by different princes of the royal blood; until at length, in the person of Edward IV., they became the special inheritance and revenue of the English crown.

The usual process by which foreign settlers, in a country already well peopled, become by degrees intermixed and incorporated with the great mass of the po-

* The following particulars of this murder are given by Lodge: — "He was murdered on Sunday, June 6. 1333, by Robert Fitz-Richard Mandeville (who gave him his first wound), and others his servants, near to the Fords, in going towards Carrickfergus, in the 21st year of his age, at the instigation, as was said, of Gyle de Burgh, wife of sir Richard Mandeville, in revenge for his having imprisoned her brother Walter and others."

† In some of these charters of pardon, the crime of adherence to the Scottish enemies is coupled, as an exception, with that of the murder of the earl of Ulster: — "Morte nup'er com' Ulton. et adherencia Scotis inimicis except."

pulation, and which, in all cases save that of Ireland, seems to have been regarded as a natural and salutary result, was, at the period where we are now arrived, in rapid progress among the Anglo-Irish; and, in the instance of the powerful family of the De Burghs, received a more quickening impulse onward from motives of rapacity and ambition. Immediately on the earl's death, the chiefs of the junior branches of the family, then residing in Connaught, fearing the transfer of his large possessions into strange hands by the marriage of the heiress, took advantage of the opportunity now offered of seizing upon his estates; and the two most powerful of the family, sir William, or Ulick, the progenitor of the earls of Clanricarde, and sir Edmond Albanach, the ancestor of the earls of Mayo, having confederated together, and declared themselves independent, took possession of the entire territory; — the town of Galway, together with the country as far as the Shannon, falling to the lot of sir William. Still more to enlist the sympathy of the natives on their side, they renounced the English dress and language, and adopted those of the country; carrying the metamorphosis so far as even to change their names, — sir William taking the title of Mac William Eighter, and sir Edmond that of Mac William Oughter.*

The example set by these "degenerate English," as they came to be styled, began, from this period, to be very extensively followed. Among the inferior branches of the De Burgh family, one named itself Mac Hubbard, and another Mac David. Similar instances of degeneracy, or rather defection, became common throughout the whole kingdom; and the frequent occurrence of the words "English rebels" in the legal records of this

* Hardiman's *History of Galway*. — "In the same province," says sir John Davies, "Bremingham, baron of Athenry, called himself Mac Yoris; Dexecester, or De'exon, was called Mac Jordan; Mangle, or De Angulo, took the name of Mac Costello. In Munster, of the great families of the Geraldines planted there, one was called Mac Morice, chief of the house of Lixnaw, and another Mac Gibbon, who was also called the White Knight. The chief of the baron of Dunboyne's house, who is a branch of the house of Ormond, took the surname of Mac Pheris."

reign shows that disaffection to the crown was now no longer confined to mere "Irish enemies."

In the spring of this year, the earl of Desmond, after having been imprisoned in the castle of Dublin for more than eighteen months, was released from his confinement; and, in a parliament held soon after, almost all the chief noblemen of the land engaged themselves and their estates as surety for his future fealty. We find him summoned also to attend the king, in his expedition into Scotland; and a writ of liberate, dated Drogheda, 1336*, shows that he then received 100*l.* for the expenses he had incurred in bringing his men at arms, hobellars and foot-soldiers, from different parts of Leinster to Drogheda, and there waiting a whole month for shipping to convey them to Scotland.

From a grant made at this time, of estates in England, to Matilda, countess of Ulster, the widow of the late murdered earl, it appears that this lady having felt a very natural dread of visiting Ireland, and no returns from her Irish posessions having been received by her, the government had taken all her castles, lands, and tenements there into their own hands, and assigned for her dowry estates of equal value in England.†

No event much worthy of notice occurs in the records of the few following years; with the doubtful exception of a most marvellous victory gained by the English over the natives in Connaught, in which, with the loss to themselves, as it is said, of but one man, they slew 10,000 of the enemy‡; thus bearing, in its result, a suspicious resemblance to two of the great battle-fields of this reign,—Crecy, and Halidon Hill.§

In the year 1339, the Irish were again up in arms, throughout the whole kingdom; more especially, as usual, in Munster, where the earl of Desmond, attacking the insurgents of Kerry, slew 1200 of their force, and

* Close Roll, 10 Ed. III. † Rymer, tom. v. ad ann. 1338.

‡ Marleburrough's Chronicle.

§ At Halidon Hill 30,000 of the Scots were killed; while there fell, on the English side, only 1 knight, 1 esquire, and 13 private soldiers. At Crecy, the disparity of loss was still more remarkable.

took prisoner Maurice Fitz-Nicholas*, fourth lord of Kerry, who had joined the ranks of the Irish, and, being now cast into prison by Desmond, there ended his days.† This nobleman had, in the year 1325, been tried and attainted by the Irish parliament for a crime, the violent nature of which, as well as the remission of the capital punishment adjudged to it, mark significantly the lawless character of the times. Bearing a grudge, in consequence of some past dispute, to Desmond Mac Carthy, son and heir to Mac Carthy More, this lord attacked him, as he sat on the bench, in the court of assize, at Tralee, and laid him dead at the judge's feet.‡

No less active against the Irish than Desmond, the earl of Kildare now attacked those of Leinster, pursuing the O'Dempsys§ so closely that many of them were drowned in the river Barrow; while a booty, richer, it is said, than had ever been taken in that country, was brought by the lord justice,—at that time Charlton, bishop of Hereford,—from Idrone, in the county of Carlow. In the same year, the chief governor just mentioned resigned his post to the prior of Kilmainham, Roger Outlaw, who now, for the fourth time, held that high office; but died at the beginning of the following year, having constituted Sir John Darcy lord justice of Ireland for life. But Darcy, unwilling, perhaps, to be made the instrument of measures so rigorous as those now about to be adopted, sent over as his deputy sir John Morris, a gentleman yet untried in the field of Irish politics.

The object of the policy about to be enforced by the king and his English advisers was, not merely to reduce,

* Lodge.—According to Cox, he was named Nicholas Fitz-Maurice.

† Annal. Hibern. "He was put in prison (says the annalist), where he died for want of meat and drink; for his allowance was but very little, because he had rebelled, with the Irish, against the king and the earl."

‡ Lodge.

§ The O'Dempsys were one of the septs inhabiting the territory called anciently Hytalgia, comprising a part of the county of Kildare, part of the King's County, and part of the Queen's County. Among the other septs composing this union were the O'Malones, O'Dalys, O'Mulloys, Mac Loghli s, &c. &c.—Ware, *Antiq.*; Seward, *Topograph. Hibern.*

but, if possible, break up and disperse, that enormous mass of wealth and power which had been accumulated, in the course of nearly two centuries, by the descendants of the first English conquerors of Ireland; and the earliest intimation given by Edward of such a design had been during the administration of sir Antony Lucy, in the Articles of Reform transmitted to that governor. In this instrument he had threatened that, if the great landholders were not more attentive to their duties, he would be compelled to take their lands and possessions into his own hands.* There was no attempt, probably, at that time, to carry this threat into execution, as we meet with no further mention of it.

On the arrival, however, of the present lord justice, the very appointment of whom, a mere knight, was viewed as an insult by the great lords, it appeared that still more sweeping and arbitrary measures were about to be enforced against the old English; and among the first was a general resumption of all the lands, liberties, seignories, and jurisdictions that had been granted, in Ireland, not by Edward himself only, but by his father.* In all cases, likewise, whether in his time or that of his predecessors, where debts due to the crown had been either remitted or suspended, it was now declared that all such indulgences were revoked, and that these debts must be strictly levied without any delay.† This rigorous measure he endeavoured to excuse by alleging the necessity which he found himself under of providing for the expenses of the war just then renewed with France. Among the ordinances put forth by him, there were some for the correction of official abuses, more especially those of the king's exchequer‡, which, had they not so openly formed a part of one fixed and general design to dislodge from its strongholds the ascendency of the Anglo-Irish, and plant in its place a purely English dominion, would have been welcomed as sound and rational reforms. A. D. 1341.

* Prynne, 267. † Ib. 272.
‡ Ib. 274, 275.

But, could any doubts have been entertained as to the real object of his legislation, they must have been removed by an ordinance issued in this year*, wherein, addressing his justiciary, sir John Darcy, he declared that, whereas it had appeared to him and his council that they would be better and more usefully served in Ireland by English officers having revenues and possessions in England than by Irish or English, married and possessing estates only in Ireland, he therefore ordered that his justiciary, after diligent inquiries, should remove all such officers as were married and held estates in Ireland, and replace them by fit Englishmen having lands, tenements, and benefices in England.

A. D. 1342.

This open announcement of the royal purpose to exclude, in future, from all share in the government, the descendants of those who had conquered that realm, as well as of those who had ever since struggled to retain it, produced, as might have been expected, a burst of indignant feeling throughout the whole of the old English population. The jealousy long felt by the crown towards those great Anglo-Irish lords, whom its own reckless favours had nursed into such portentous strength, and who were now, comparatively, at least, with the king and his nobles, become the natural heads of the land, had already, in more than one instance, declared itself. But it was not until now that this feeling had found vent for itself in the law; or that the distinction between the two races, the English by blood and the English by birth, was resorted to as a reason or pretext for the sacrifice of the old colonists to the new. It was now too late, however, to think of dislodging an evil so long and so firmly entrenched; and the only effect of the unwise aggression was, to render the party attacked more sensible of their own power.

1342. To allay the excitement caused by this measure, a parliament was summoned by the lord justice, to meet at Dublin in October; but the earl of Desmond, and the lords of his party, refused peremptorily to attend it;

* Close Roll, 15 Ed. III. See Prynne, p. 274.

and, confederating with other great nobles, as well as some cities and corporations, they appointed, of themselves, without any reference to the head of the government, a general assembly to meet, in November, at Kilkenny. This convention, at which were present neither the lord justice nor any other of the king's officers, made itself memorable, not only by the peculiar circumstances under which it met, but also by a long and spirited petition to the king, which was the result of its deliberations, and which, though not expressly pretending to parliamentary authority, purports to be the act of the prelates, earls, barons, and commons of Ireland.* To understand clearly the complaints made by these petitioners of the encroachments, as they chose to consider them, of the natives, it must be borne in mind that, during the troubled reign of Edward II., and in the first years of the present, the Irish had succeeded, in more than one instance, in regaining possession of their ancient territories; and that the greater part of the lands of Leinster had been, for some time, in the hands of Mac Morough and O'Moore, the descendants of the original princes of that province.†

The petition, which is in old Norman French, begins by complaining that, in consequence of maladministration and the unguarded state in which the country had been left, more than a third part of the lands conquered by the king's progenitors had been taken possession of by his Irish enemies; in consequence of which his liege English subjects had become so impoverished as to be even in want of the means of subsistence. The great castles and fortresses which, while held by the crown, formed the safeguards of the land, were now in the pos-

* Prynne, 279.

† Baron Finglas, *Breviate of Ireland*. It was about the beginning of Edward the Second's reign that this resumption of the lands of Leinster took place. The English lord who then held the territory of Ley having appointed one of the O'Moores to be his captain of war in that territory, this chief took possession of the country for himself, —"de servo dominus, de subjecto princeps effectus" as friar Clynne states it. And a similar appointment, about the same time, enabled Mac Morough, the captain or chief of the Cavanaghs, to possess himself of the county of Carlow, and of the greater part of the county of Wexford. — See *Davies*, p. 194.

session of the Irish; chiefly, as the petitioners allege, through the misconduct of the king's treasurers, who had delayed, and frequently embezzled, the pay of the constables and warders. The castles of Roscommon, Rathdown, Athlone, and Bunratty had, from this and other causes, been abandoned to the enemy.

After a number of other such charges against the officers of the royal exchequer, accusing them of fraud and overreaching in almost all their transactions, and praying of the king to apply a remedy to these evils, they proceed to notice the grasping covetousness of his ministers, in holding each a number of lucrative posts; and entreat that in future none should be allowed to hold more than one office.* But the late order issued by the king, for the resumption of all grants made in Ireland by himself and his royal progenitors, was naturally the grievance on which their resentments and recollections were most alive. Recalling to his mind the gallant devotion of his liege English of Ireland, when, at their own cost, they joined the banner of his royal ancestor, in the wars of Gascony, Scotland, and Wales, they contrasted this devotion with the conduct of the English, who had been sent over to rule them, and who, wanting in means or resources of their own, and wholly ignorant of the country, came but to enrich themselves dishonourably at the expense of a people whom they misgoverned. "In return, sire," say they, "for trusty and loyal services, you and your progenitors granted to divers English people of this realm lands, tenements, franchises, and remissions of debt, of which, by virtue of your charters, they have long remained in quiet possession. But now, sire, your ministers inform us that, by a late mandate from England, all these royal gifts and grants have been revoked." This act they calmly, but firmly, pronounce to be unjust and contrary to reason; as neither by their ancestors nor by them-

* "Ensement, sire, pur ces qe voz ministres Dirlaund embrassent plusours offices de pur covetisie daver multz des foes, voillez sire pur vostre profit ordiner, qe nul de vos ministres illoeqes ne eyt qe un office soulement."

selves had their claim to the favours of the crown been ever forfeited: and they therefore pray of the king that, according to the provisions of the Great Charter, they may not be ousted of their freehold without being called in judgment.*

There are yet a number of other abuses and grievances complained of by them, — such as the seizure of lands by the king's escheators, merely for the sake of the fee they received on again restoring them; the great hardship of persons indicted for felonies, in Ireland, being compelled to appear and answer for them before the king in England; the seizure of victuals and carriages by the king's ministers, on their own sole authority, and without paying any money for them. On these, and some other subjects of complaint, the petitioners pray of the king to institute searching inquiries, and apply just and prompt remedies.

Of the nature of the answer returned by Edward to this earnest remonstrance we are left in entire ignorance; the only notice of it that appears to be extant being found in a writ addressed by him to the remonstrants †; wherein, acknowledging, in most gracious terms, the receipt of their petition, he acquaints them that his answer to its several prayers had been sent under the great seal to John March the chancellor, and Thomas de Wogan. He concludes this writ by informing them of his intention to pass into France with a large force, and asking their aid towards his expedition.

In the same year, sir Ralph Ufford, who had married the countess dowager of Ulster, was appointed to the office of lord justice; and, by his harsh and rigorous measures, made himself so odious throughout the country, that the long course of tempestuous weather which happened to prevail during his administration, was, by the superstition of the people, laid to his charge.‡ The first act of this lord justice's govern- A. D. 1343.

* "Pur quei sire vous pleise ordiner, qe eux ne soient ostæz de lour franc tenementz sanz estre appele en jugement, comela Grande Chartre voet."

† Close Roll, 16 Ed. III.

‡ Annal. Hibern.

ment was to put down the aspiring pretensions of Desmond, who, assuming his former attitude of defiance, had refused to attend a parliament summoned by Ufford, at Dublin, and appointed an assembly of his own friends and confederates, at the town of Callan. But the new governor, by his determined conduct, defeated this bold design. The other great lords of Desmond's party, on being prohibited by the king's writ, declined their leader's summons; while, at the same time, the lord justice, marching a force into Munster, seized on that earl's lands, and farmed them out at a rent payable yearly to the king. Getting possession also, by stratagem, of the castles of Iniskelly and Island, he hanged three knights, sir Eustace Poer, sir William Grant, and sir John Cottrel, who had held the command of them, and against whom the charge was that they had practised the grievous and foreign exaction of coyne and livery.*

A. D. 1345.

In consequence of these strong measures, Desmond surrendered himself to the lord justice, and was let to bail on the recognizances of the earls of Ulster and Ormond, and four and twenty knights. But as (through fear, it is supposed, of the severity of the lord justice) he failed to appear, according to the condition of the recognizance, his sureties were left to answer for his unworthy default, whereby eighteen of the knights lost their estates and were utterly ruined.†

While thus successful in curbing and humbling the proud Desmond, Ufford was equally fortunate in his proceedings against the other great leader of the Anglo-

* By the taxes called coyne and livery, was meant food and entertainment for the soldiers and forage for the horses. It was the opinion of Spenser, that great injustice was done to the Irish landlords by the prohibition of the custom called coigny or coyne; "for all their tenants (he says) being commonly but tenants at will, they use to take of them what victuals they list; for of victuals they were wont to make small reckoning. Neither in this was the tenant wronged, for it was an ordinary and known custom, and his lord commonly used so to covenant with him, which if at any time the tenant disliked, he might freely depart at his pleasure. But now, by this statute, the said Irish lord is wronged, for that he is cut off from his customary services." — *View of the State of Ireland.*

† Cox.—For the names of Desmond's mainprisers, see Annal. Hibern., ad ann. 1345.

Irish, Thomas earl of Kildare; though the means employed by him for this object present such a train of mean and elaborate perfidy as no success, however important, should be suffered to sanction or excuse. Under the pretence of summoning Kildare to join the monarch with his forces, sir William Burton was sent into Munster, with two writs, — one containing the royal summons, and the other secretly empowering sir William to seize and imprison the earl. So quickly, however, on Kildare's announcement of the king's summons, did his followers crowd to the royal standard, that to produce the secret writ, with any hope of being able to execute it, would have been a worse than vain attempt. In this difficulty, the only resource left to the treacherous envoy, was that of prevailing upon the earl to suspend his levy of troops until he should have consulted with the king's council. To this proposal Kildare unsuspectingly assented; and having accompanied sir William to Dublin, for the pretended purpose, was there, while consulting with the council, in the exchequer, suddenly arrested and thrown into prison.*

In the month of April, this year, the administration of sir Ralph Ufford was brought to a close, by his death, — leaving behind, as we are told, one general feeling of abhorrence for his memory. Nor had this odium, in his case, been compensated by any of those worldly advantages which too often wait on a life of oppression and rapine, as he died in necessitous circumstances; and his lady, says the chronicler, who had been received like an empress, and lived like a queen, was obliged to steal away through a postern gate of the castle to avoid the curses of her enemies and the clamour of her creditors. Such are the portraits given in our annals of these two unpopular personages; but with every appearance, however, of having been exaggerated and over coloured by party malice. Coming on a mission so odious and formidable to the fierce oligarchs of the realm, and carrying his measures with such a high hand

A. D. 1346.

* Annal. Hibern.

as even the king himself shrunk from enforcing, it was, perhaps, fortunate for Ufford to be thus rescued, even by death, from the storm of hatred and persecution that would have assailed him on his retirement. The whole period of Ufford's government did not extend beyond a year and nine months; and the state of poverty, in which he is said to have died, seems rather inconsistent with the course of extortion and peculation attributed to him.

There was now a succession of no less than three chief governors in the short space of two months, under one of whom, sir John Morris, the earl of Kildare, who had been kept arbitrarily for nearly a year in prison, was, on the recognizance of twenty-four lords and gentlemen, released from confinement.

By a similar act of graciousness, and through the interposition of sir Walter Bermingham, then lord justice, Desmond was permitted to proceed to England, to lay his complaints at the foot of the throne; and was not only graciously received, but, in prosecuting his claims for redress of the wrongs inflicted upon him by Ufford, was allowed twenty shillings *per diem* for his expenses, by the king. All the estates, too, of those who had become bound for him, while in prison, were by letters patent restored to them.*

In the year 1344, on the renewal of hostilities with France, the king had addressed a writ to the magnates of Ireland, summoning them to join him with their forces †; and, in the present year, the earl of Kildare
A. D. went with thirty men at arms and forty hobillers ‡, to
1347. serve the king, at the siege of Calais, where, for his gallant conduct, Edward bestowed upon him the honour of knighthood.

There now ensued a period of tranquillity, for some years, such as rarely the course of our annals presents; and the causes assigned for this unusual calm, namely, the favour extended by Edward to the two popular

* Annal. Hibern.—Cox.
† Rymer, tom. v. p. 417.
‡ Rymer, tom. v. p. 544.

Anglo-Irish lords, and the daily expectation of seeing the resumed lands and jurisdictions restored, show in what quarter the active elements of political strife and disorder principally lay. During this period the office of lord justice was filled by five or six successive personages; of one of whom, sir Thomas Rokeby, a homely saying is recorded, characteristic, we are told, of the simple and sound integrity of the man. When reproached by some one for suffering himself to be served in wooden cups, he answered, "I had rather drink out of wood and pay gold and silver, than drink out of gold and make wooden payment."* It was during Rokeby's second administration, as far as any certainty on the point can be attained, that the crown, after a short and vain struggle against the power it had itself created, thought fit to restore all the estates and jurisdictions which it had resumed.† A. D. 1333.

So well had Desmond succeeded in ingratiating himself with the king, that he was now thought worthy not only of being intrusted with the government of Ireland, but of holding that high and responsible office for life. He survived but five months, however, to enjoy this honour; and, dying in the castle of Dublin, was taken from thence and interred in the church of the Friars Preachers at Tralee. 1355.

In the time of his successor, sir Thomas Rokeby, who resumed, on his death, the helm of the state, an important writ was issued, ordering that, for the future, the parliament of Ireland should take cognizance of erroneous proceedings in the king's courts of that country, instead of, as hitherto, putting the subject to the trouble and expense of prosecuting a writ of error in England.‡ This useful reform was followed, at an interval of about two years, by a series of ordinances,

* Campion, *Historie*, &c. — Holinshed.

† In the case of James earl of Ormond, the restitution took place much earlier, as the king, in consideration of this earl's consanguinity to himself, restored to him the palatinate of Tipperary, in the year 1328. — Carte's *History of the Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Introduct.

‡ Close Roll, 29 Ed. III. See Prynne, p. 286.

most of them equally judicious and useful in their several provisions, for the better government of the church and state in Ireland, and the maintenance of the English laws and statutes established in that realm.*

Among the offences and abuses denounced in these ordinances are, the intermarriage and fostering of the English with the Irish; the depredations committed by the kerns, or idle men; the manifold extortions and oppressions practised by the king's officers, more especially those of the exchequer and court of wards. In reference to the recent dissensions between the old and new English, the ordinance enjoins that, in every such case, the lord justice shall, after diligent inquiry into all the circumstances of the feud, cause due process to be served on the delinquents; and shall, on conviction, punish them by imprisonment, severe fines, or other such just infliction.

During the administration of James earl of Ormond, who, from his being the grandson of king Edward I., was styled, usually, "the noble earl," a considerable advance was made in that sure system of warfare against the Irish, which needed no weapons for its purpose, but those which the law so readily supplied, by the issue of a mandate ordering that no "mere Irishman" should be made a mayor, or bailiff, or other officer of any town within the English dominion; nor be received, through any motives of consanguinity, affinity, or other causes, into holy orders, nor be advanced to any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion.† A modification of this severe edict took place in the following year, when the king explained, by his writ, that

* Ordinatio de Statu Hibern., cited by Prynne (p. 287.), out of the Statute Roll in the Tower.

† Rymer, t. vi. 326. This memorable mandate well merits to be given at full length.—"Quod nullus merè Hibernicus, de natione Hibernicâ existens, fiat major, ballivus, janitor aut alius officiarius seu minister in aliquo loco nobis subjecto. Nec quod aliquis archiepiscopus, episcopus, abbas, prior, aut aliquis alius ad fidem nostram existens, sub forisfactura omnium quæ nobis forisfacere posset, aliquem merè Hibernicum, de natione Hibernicâ, ut præmittitur, existentem, causâ consanguinitatis, affinitatis, aut alio modo quocunque, in canonicum recipiat, vel ad aliquod beneficium ecclesiasticum inter Anglicos promoveat vel admittat."

it was not meant to extend to any Irish clerks who had done him service, or given proofs of their loyalty.

The earl of Ormond having been called, for a short time, to England, the office of lord justice was meanwhile held by Maurice Fitz-Gerald, earl of Kildare, with the usual salary of 500*l. per annum*, out of which he had to maintain nineteen horsemen besides himself.*

In the following year, the important announcement was made to both countries, of the king's intention to send, as deputy to Ireland, his third son, Lionel, duke of Clarence. This young prince, who married the daughter, as we have seen, of the late William earl of Ulster, had become, in her right, possessed of that earldom, together with the lordship of Connaught; and, as the maintenance of the king's power in Ireland was now the common cause of all who held possessions in that kingdom, Edward summoned all such persons to appear before him and his council, either personally or by proxy, and concert measures for the preservation and defence of that realm. The causes assigned, in the king's writ, for the state of affairs they are called upon to remedy, are, first, the increased violence of the incursions of the Irish enemy; next, the inability of his loyal subjects to make head against these aggressions; and, lastly, the absence of so many great English proprietors, who drew all they could from their Irish estates, but took no trouble whatever for their defence.† Among the absentees required to contribute, on this occasion, to the raising of a military force, are found Maria countess of Norfolk, Agnes countess of Pembroke, Margery de Roos, Anna le Despenser, and several other great ladies. A. D. 1361.

The result that followed on all this show of preparation was by no means worthy either of the occasion or the effort; as an army consisting of but fifteen hundred men was the whole of the force with which Lionel

* Prynne, p. 295.

† "Commodum dictarum terrarum suarum ab eadem terra capiunt, et defensionem aliquam non faciunt." — *Close Roll*, 35 Ed. III.

proceeded to Ireland, having under him Ralph earl of Stafford, James earl of Ormond, sir John Carew, sir William Windsor, and other distinguished knights.

Although, in more judicious hands, a force even thus small might have been rendered efficient by a skilful mode of employing it, — especially if seconded by a system of policy at once firm and conciliatory, — no such prosperous results were to be looked for from a leader like the young duke, who, besides his inexperience, carried too openly with him into his new sphere of power all those prejudices against the old English settlers which were then so prevalent among his countrymen, and which, in a land already convulsed by faction, had opened lately a new and ominous chasm of strife. In order to enable him, in his Irish wars, to dispense with the assistance of the old English altogether, it was ordered by proclamation, before his departure, that all who held lands in Ireland should, on pain of forfeiture of their possessions, repair thither with all the force they could raise ; and he caused it now, with still more direct avowal of his object, to be proclaimed that none of the old English inhabitants should be allowed to join his army, or even approach his camp.*

This open and deliberate insult to those who were the progeny of the first conquerors of the land, and who had, themselves, fought and toiled to preserve it, could not fail to be deeply and indignantly resented ; and, had so rash a course of policy been persevered in, the realm would have been lost most probably to both of the usurping parties. The young prince, however, was soon made sensible of the mischievous consequence of such conduct. The insurgents of Munster being those whose ravages were found most harassing to the English province, the first measure of the royal duke was to march his army against O'Brian of Thomond. But, being unacquainted with the local bearings of the country, and having no guides or means of intelligence, he lost, in this ill-advised expedition, a great number

* Cox.

of his troops. Perceiving how hopeless, therefore, was any endeavour to dispense with the aid of the Anglo-Irish, he hastened to retrieve his rash outset by the issue of a second proclamation, inviting and requiring them to join his standard without further delay. As they were themselves too deeply interested in the success of his arms to regard punctilio in such an emergency, they readily ranged themselves under his banner, and the result of their union was the total dispersion of the Munster chieftain's force.

Returning to Dublin after this success, the prince conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of his followers, both of the new and the old English race. He likewise removed the exchequer to Carlow, and expended 500*l.* on the walling of that town; by which, and a few other acts of the same nature, he so far pleased the country in general that both clergy and laity concurred in granting to him two years' revenue of all their lands and tithes, towards the maintenance of the Irish war. To this prince is also attributed, the merit of having been the first who kept the army in any tolerable state of discipline, and prevented them from being, as heretofore, a grievous burden to the community.

After having held, for nearly three years, the office of lord lieutenant, the duke of Clarence returned to England, without having gained in that time a single important advantage over the natives, or enlarged the scanty boundaries of the English power. A. D. 1364.

In the course of the three following years, we find him twice again intrusted with the same office; though on both occasions for a very limited period. It was during his last administration, in the year 1367, that the memorable parliament was held at Kilkenny, in which the two estates, as we are told, sat together*, and which passed the celebrated act known generally by the name of the Statute of Kilkenny. This remarkable ordi- 1367.

* "The opinion," says Dr. Lingard, speaking of this reign, "that the several estates sate and voted together, derives no support from the language of the rolls."

nance, though directed chiefly against those old English, or, more properly, Anglo-Irish, who had adopted the laws and customs of the natives, contains also, in reference to the latter, some enactments full of that jealous and penal spirit which continued for centuries after to pervade and infect the whole course of English legislation respecting Ireland. The following are the principal provisions of this statute: — That intermarriages with the natives, or any connection with them in the way of fostering or gossipred *, should be considered and punished as high treason: — that any man of English race, assuming an Irish name, or using the Irish language, apparel, or customs, should forfeit all his lands and tenements: — that to adopt or submit to the Brehon law was treason: — that without the permission of the government, the English should not make war upon the natives: — that the English should not permit the Irish to pasture or graze upon their lands, nor admit them to any ecclesiastical benefices or religious houses, nor entertain their minstrels, rhymers, or news-tellers. There were also enactments against the oppressive tax of coyne and livery; against the improper use made of royal franchises and liberties in allowing them to be sanctuaries for malefactors, and one or two other such manifest abuses.

It can hardly be necessary to direct attention to the cruel and iniquitous spirit of some of these items. While all of the lower classes of Irish are prohibited from pasturage within the English limits, — almost the only employment which the backward state of their agriculture then afforded, — all the better ranks are

* For the abuses of the tie of gossipred, or compaternity, in Ireland, see Davies, Spenser, sir James Ware, &c. &c. The practice of *fostering* was also complained of as tending to produce those ties and relationships with the native Irish, which it was the great object of the English legislators to intercept and prevent. The warm-heartedness, however, of the people they had to deal with, baffled, in this, as in many other such antisocial schemes, all their unnatural contrivances. "*Fostering*," says Davies, "hath always been a stronger alliance than blood; and the foster-children do love and are beloved of their foster-fathers and their sept more than of their own natural parents and kindred; and do participate of their means more frankly, and do adhere unto them in all fortunes, with more affection and constancy."

entirely excluded from that great road to wealth and honour, the church; and thus both classes are alike subjected to one common ban of exclusion and proscription, as if wholly unworthy to live or consort with their fellow men.

Such arbitrary measures are, in general, for the time, efficacious, whatever reaction their insolent defiance of the laws of nature and justice must ultimately provoke. Combined with the presence of the royal governor, so calming an effect did this rigorous statute produce, that from thenceforth the king's writ ran in Ulster and Connaught, and the revenues of both those provinces were regularly accounted for in the exchequer.*

Throughout the remainder of this long reign, there occur few events deserving of more than a cursory notice. After closing, stisfactorily, the session of his parliament, the duke of Clarence returned to England, and was succeeded in his office by Gerald earl of Desmond, called, from his skill in writing verses, the Poet who, in the year 1369, gave place to sir William de Windsor. During the government of this lord lieu- A. D.
tenant, — or *custos*, as we find him styled, — the 1369.
unusual tranquillity which had for some time prevailed was suddenly interrupted by a rising of the O'Tooles and other rebels of Leinster. Having attacked them with complete success, De Windsor was following up his advantage, when suddenly he found his attention called away to another quarter, by an event, distressing alike both on public and private grounds. A sanguinary affray had just taken place in the county of Limerick, near the monastery of Mayo, in which O'Connor and O'Brian, getting the better of their English antagonists, had slain the earl of Desmond, and taken John Fitz-Nicholas, lord of Kerry, and the lord Thomas Fitz-John, prisoners.† No time, there- 1370.

* Cox — Davies.

† Holinshed — Annal. Hibern. — Mac Geoghegan. According to Lodge and Lynch, Gerald, the fourth earl of Desmond, lived for more than twenty years after the period assigned by the chroniclers for his murder.

fore, was to be lost in marching to the defence of Munster; and the lord lieutenant, by a prompt and decisive movement, prevented any further spread of the revolt.

Some arbitrary acts are recorded of this chief governor, which deserve notice, as being characteristic of those times. In the year 1370, when a parliament was held by him in Dublin, the two knights elected for Louth county were cast into prison by him for refusing to grant a subsidy; and, in the following year, having convoked a parliament at Baldoyle, a place where there were no buildings except a small chapel, he assigned as his reason for this inconvenient arrangement, that the commons, finding themselves so ill lodged and entertained in that town, would be the sooner disposed to grant the required subsidies.*

The trite and true maxim, that "moral wrong brings with it its own punishment," needs no more striking illustration than the page of Irish history furnishes, in all that hideous harvest of hate and revolt which the English satraps of Ireland were now reaping as the natural product of their own rapacity and misrule. Even in those objects of which the attainment depends, in general, on mere force, so completely had their grasping views been hitherto baffled, that of all the fruits of their boasted "conquest," there remained subject to them, at the time we are now treating of, only the four shires of the English Pale †; — all the other parts of Ireland, including as well their Anglo-Irish as their native population, having fallen away from the crown of England.‡ A proof of the progress made by the Irish "rebels," as they were styled, in recovering their own patri-
A. D. monial lands, is afforded in a writ issued at this time
1373. by the king, in consequence of a petition addressed to

* Lynch (*Legislative Institutions, &c.*), who cites as his authority, Original Inquisitions in the Tower of London.

† It seems by no means certain at what period the territory occupied by the English colonies began to be distinguished by the appellation of "the Pale;" but it is generally supposed to have been about the time we are now approaching.

‡ Davies.

him by the English settlers, praying for relief from the payment of scutage "on all those lands of which the Irish enemy had despoiled them."*

In a country thus circumstanced, the office of chief governor, however alluring it might have been in the first palmy days of plunder and usurpation, had now become so arduous and undesirable a post, that sir Richard Pembridge, one of the king's servants, and warden of the Cinque Ports, on being ordered to go over to Ireland as lord-justice, positively refused. Nor was his refusal, however ungracious, adjudged to be illegal; it being held that even so high an appointment, in Ireland, was no better than an honourable exile, and that no man could be forced by law to abandon his country, except in the case of abjuration for felony, or by act of parliament.† The king sent over, therefore, in his stead, sir William de Windsor, already once before lord lieutenant, who undertook to carry on the government for 11,213*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, — a sum exceeding (says sir John Davies) the whole revenue of the realm of Ireland, which did not at that time amount to 10,000*l.* annually, "even though the medium," he adds, "be taken from the best seven years during this long reign." By De Windsor an order was obtained from the king and council, that all those who had lands in Ireland should repair thither without delay, or else send in their place men competent to defend the country, under pain of forfeiting their estates. Notwithstanding, however, all this preparation, so little had the government of that kingdom to do with the Irish people, that, according to De Windsor's own confession, he had never, during the whole course of his service there, been able to get access to the natives, or even discover their secluded places of abode. A. D. 1374.

The successor of De Windsor in the office of lord justice was James, the second earl of Ormond, under whom a parliament was called to provide for the exigencies of the government, but refused to grant the supplies. In 1376.

* Close Roll, 46 Ed. III. See Prynne, 302. † Cox.

this emergency writs were issued to the bishops and the commons, requiring them to choose representatives to be sent to the parliament of England *, — there to treat, consult, and agree with the king and his council on the measures necessary for the support and safety of the government of Ireland. In complying, reluctantly, with this order of the crown, the clergy, nobles, and commons declare that, according to the rights, laws, and customs of the land of Ireland, from the time of the conquest thereof, they never had been bound to elect or send any persons out of the said land to parliaments or councils held in England, for any such purposes as the writ requires.†

The same sort of struggle between the civil and ecclesiastical judicatures, as had been maintained so long in England, and the same unceasing demands and exactions on the part of the pope, under the various forms of Peter's pence, first fruits, and other such papal taxes ‡, were experienced likewise, during this century, in Ireland. In the reign of Henry III., we find the pope's nuncio, master Stephen, sent to demand of both clergy and laity, in England, Ireland, and Wales, no less than a tenth of all their moveables, for the maintenance of the struggle his holiness was then engaged in with the emperor Frederick § ; and, at different intervals during

* Prynne, p. 305. According to Prynne, it was not to the parliament, but to the king's council, that these representatives, or rather commissioners, were summoned, in the same manner as the Scottish "Community" elected commissioners to repair to England in the thirty-third year of the reign of Edward I. — See Ryley, *Placit. Parliament.* p. 242, 243.

† A similar case occurred in the thirty-third year of Edward I., when persons were elected by the respective counties, cities, and boroughs in Ireland, —whether as members of parliament or commissioners, is a point disputed, — to repair to England, for the purpose of consulting respecting Irish affairs. It is allowed, indeed, by Molyneux,—rather injuriously to his general argument,—that through the greater part of the reigns of the three Edwards, representatives from Ireland came over to sit in the English parliament.

‡ For an account of these different taxes, see Lingard, *Hist. of England*, chap. xix. "In the obstinacy," says Dr. Lingard, "with which the court of Rome urged the exercise of these obnoxious claims, it is difficult to discover any traces of that political wisdom for which it has been celebrated. Its conduct tended to loosen the ties which bound the people to the head of their church, to nourish a spirit of opposition to his authority, and to create a willingness to listen to the declamations and adopt the opinions of religious innovators."

§ Mathew Paris, 483.

the same reign, two other papal legates, Petrus de Supino and Johannes Rufus, extorted from Ireland the value of the twentieth part of the land, and sums of money amounting to 7500 marks.* In the time of De Londres, archbishop of Dublin, so daring had been the encroachments of the spiritual authority, that the king, notwithstanding that prelate's high character and services, was forced to issue a writ, reprehending strongly his conduct, and threatening measures still more severe, should he persist in such practices.†

What with the exactions, indeed, of the pope's agents on one side, and the frequent and pressing demands of the crown on the other, the laity of both kingdoms were allowed little rest from extortion. The ready aid, too, which these great drainers of the public purse generally lent to each other's fiscal enterprises, rendered their hold on its contents more stringent and sure. Thus, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Edward I., the pope made a grant to that king of the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in Ireland, and this was followed soon after by a grant of a fifteenth from the temporalty. ‡

An event which occurred in the nineteenth year of Edward III., shows to what aspiring heights, even under a prince so powerful, the haughty churchmen of this period carried the pretensions of their order. The king had obtained a vote from parliament, for the grant of a subsidy, to be levied on church lands, as well as on those of the laity. But the archbishop of Cashel, Ralph Kelly, a native of Ireland, resolved to oppose the levying of this subsidy within his province; and, being supported by his suffragans of Limerick, Emly, and Lismore, issued a decree that all beneficed clergymen who contributed to this subsidy should, by the very act, be deprived of their benefices, and rendered incapable of future preferment within that province. Such of their lay tenants, also, as contributed, were to be ex-

* Mathew Paris, 961.
† Ware. — D'Alton's *Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin.*
‡ Cox.

communicated, and their descendants, to the third generation, excluded from holy orders. To give more solemnity to these decrees, the archbishop, attended by the other prelates, and all dressed in their pontifical robes, presented themselves in the streets of Clonmell, and there solemnly pronounced an excommunication upon the king's commissioner of revenue, and upon all persons concerned in advising, contributing to, or levying the subsidy.*

For this daring conduct, informations were exhibited against the prelates; who pleaded, in their defence, *Magna Charta*, — by which it was provided, they said, that the church should be free, and that all who violated its immunities should be punished with excommunication. The cause was given against the archbishop and his confederates; but these sturdy lords refused to appear in arrest of judgment, and, as there occurs no further mention of the transaction, obtained, in the end, we may conclude, a virtual triumph.

Much of the opposition thus shown to the government by the Irish clergy, proceeded, doubtless, from political divisions within the church itself; — as, even at that period, when all were of one faith, the church of the government and the church of the people, in Ireland, were almost as much separated from each other by difference in race, language, political feeling, and even ecclesiastical discipline, as they have been, at any period since, by difference in creeds. The attempt made by the synod of Cashel in the year 1172 to assimilate the Irish church, in its rites and discipline, to that of England, entirely failed of its object; and the native clergy and people continued to follow their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the decrees of that memorable synod had never been issued.† Disheartening as may be some of the conclusions too plainly deducible from this fact, it clearly shows, at least, that the establishment of the reformed church, in that kingdom, was not the first or sole cause of the bitter hostility between its two races.

* Ware.— D'Alton. † Lanigan.

It was in the reign of the second Edward that a university was, for the first time, founded within the city of Dublin.* A bull had been obtained for this object, from pope Clement V., by John Lech, archbishop of Dublin; and the task of carrying it into effect devolved upon his successor, Alexander de Bicknor, by whom statutes for the government of the university were established.† To all students frequenting this university, which was founded in St. Patrick's cathedral, protection was extended by Edward III.‡; and in the year 1364, his son Lionel, duke of Clarence, granted to the dean and chapter an acre of land at Stachallane, and the advowson of the church, to provide for the payment of ten marks a-year to a person of the order of St. Augustine, to deliver a lecture upon divinity in the scholars' room. §

An ordinance passed by the English parliament, in the fifth year of this reign, "that there should be one and the same law for the Irish and the English," is frequently referred to in the once interesting controversy with which Molyneux, the friend of Locke, connected his name. There is also another inquiry bearing upon the same question, which has no less divided our historical antiquaries, —namely, at what period Ireland began to have a parliament of her own; and it seems to be agreed upon by the best authorities, that, until the reign of Edward II., all the deliberative meetings held in that kingdom, by whatsoever name they may have been called, were rather general assemblies of the great men, than, properly,

* Ware's *Antiquities*, chap. xxxvii. sect. 3.

† One of the rules laid down for the government of this projected seminary would be thought, at the present day, rather startlingly liberal: — "We ordain, also, that we and our successors may choose a secular regent in divinity, of any order of worship or religion whatsoever (*de quacumque religione*), who may actually read lectures on the Bible, in our church of St. Patrick, without any contradiction or calumny from any person whatsoever."

‡ The king, in granting the desired protection, declares strongly his sense of the benefit of such studies; adding that, by those who most cultivate them, morality and virtue are most cherished, and peace in the land best preserved. — *Patent Roll*, 32 Ed. III.

§ *History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, by William Monck Mason; — a most valuable contribution to our antiquarian literature.

parliaments.* That they were sometimes considerable in numbers, as well as in rank, appears from a parliament of this description, held in the year 1302, at which were present no less than 156 persons; and in the following reign, a general assembly, or parliament, was convened, which, in addition to all the English nobility in Ireland, included likewise the four archbishops, ten bishops, the abbot of St. Thomas, the prior of Kilmainham, and the dean and chapter of Dublin. There were likewise present, on this occasion, several great Irish lords, among whom are the following, and thus designated, — O'Hanlon, duke of Oriel, O'Donell, duke of Tyrconnel, O'Neill, duke of Tyrone.

Until the period when regular parliaments began to be held in Ireland, it was usual to transmit thither, from time to time, the laws made by the English legislature, to be there proclaimed, inrolled, and executed, as laws also of Ireland; and there can be little doubt that what was then styled a parliament in that kingdom, was no more than the summoning of the great men of the realm together, reading over to them the law or laws transmitted from England, and enjoining that they should obey them.†

Among the last notices, respecting Ireland, that occur in the records of this reign, a curious entry in the Issue Roll for the year 1376 may for its quiet significance deserve to be noticed: — Richard Dere and William Stapolyn came over to England to inform the king how very badly Ireland was governed. The king ordered them to be paid ten pounds for their trouble.‡

* Speech of sir John Davies, when speaker of the Irish House of Commons, published by Leland, vol. ii. *Appendix.*

† The mandate issued by Henry III., in transmitting to his Irish deputy, Richard de Burgh, the laws and charter of king John, shows how simple was, at that time, the process by which English statutes were made binding upon Ireland. — "Mandamus vobis firmiter præcipientes, quatenus certa die et loco faciatis venire coram vobis archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, priores, comites, et barones, milites et libere tenentes, et ballivos singulorum comitatuum, et coram eis publice legi faciatis Cartam domini J. Regis patris nostri . . . . . et præcipiatis eis ex parte nostra, quod leges illas et consuetudines in Carta prædicta contentas de cætero firmiter teneant et observent." — *Close Roll*, 12 Hen. III.

‡ Issues of the Exchequer.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

RICHARD II.

COUNCIL OF REGENCY DURING THE KING'S MINORITY. — ACT AGAINST ABSENTEES. — COMMISSION OF SIR NICHOLAS DAGWORTH. — EDMUND MORTIMER, EARL OF MARCH, APPOINTED LORD LIEUTENANT — SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON, ROGER MORTIMER. — GOVERNMENT OF PHILIP DE COURTENAY, THE KING'S COUSIN — HIS OPPRESSION AND EXACTIONS — IS DISPOSSESSED OF HIS OFFICE, AND PUNISHED. — THE KING'S FAVOURITE, ROBERT DE VERE — IS CREATED SUCCESSIVELY MARQUIS OF DUBLIN AND DUKE OF IRELAND — IS INVESTED BY THE KING WITH THE SOVEREIGNTY OF IRELAND — ENDS HIS DAYS IN MISERY AT LOUVAIN. — DUKE OF GLOUCESTER ACCEPTS THE OFFICE OF LORD LIEUTENANT — HIS DEPARTURE COUNTERMANDED. — THE KING RESOLVES ON AN EXPEDITION TO IRELAND — HIS SUPPOSED MOTIVES FOR THIS STEP. — SUBMISSION OF THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS — THE KING ENTERTAINS THEM IN DUBLIN — CONFERS ON THEM THE HONOUR OF KNIGHTHOOD. — SALUTARY REFORMS COMMENCED AND PROJECTED BY HIM — IS OBLIGED TO RETURN TO ENGLAND — COMMITS THE GOVERNMENT TO THE YOUNG EARL OF MARCH. — REVOLT OF THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS ON THE KING'S DEPARTURE. — THE EARL OF MARCH SLAIN IN A BATTLE WITH THE NATIVES. — THE KING RESOLVES ON ANOTHER EXPEDITION TO IRELAND — IS ACCOMPANIED BY YOUNG HENRY OF MONMOUTH, AFTERWARDS HENRY V. — DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE ROYAL ARMY. — MAC MOROUGH REFUSES TO MAKE SUBMISSION. — THE ARMY DISTRESSED FOR PROVISIONS. — UNSUCCESSFUL PARLEY WITH MAC MOROUGH. — THE KING RETREATS TO DUBLIN — RECEIVES INTELLIGENCE OF THE LANDING OF HENRY OF BOLINGBROKE — EMBARKS WITH HIS ARMY FOR MILFORD HAVEN.

THE intention expressed, in a preceding chapter of this work, to pass rapidly over the reigns of the first English kings of Ireland, it has not been in my power to accomplish. Though wanting in almost every quality that lends grace and glory to history, this period of

my narrative, I found, could hardly be thus despatched without doing injustice to the demands of the subject. It was, in fact, in these very times, and more especially during the reign of Edward III., that the foundations were laid of that monstrous system of misgovernment in Ireland, to which no parallel exists in the history of the whole civilised world;—its dark and towering iniquity having projected its shadow so far forward as even to the times immediately bordering upon our own.

Enough, however, has, I trust, been related of these few eventful reigns, to convey a clear notion of the spirit of the law and its administration during that period, as well as of the condition of the country, in consequence of that spirit; and likewise to show that, as great power may be administered without tyranny, so is it possible for enormous tyranny to exist without any real power.

A. D. 1377. On the death of Edward III., the crown devolved, without question or contest, to Richard of Bordeaux, son and heir of the Black Prince; and the young king being then but in his eleventh year, a council of regency was chosen, "in aid of the chancellor and treasurer," to conduct the affairs of the government, during the minority of the king.*

1379. The first measure relating to Ireland, which demands our attention, during this reign, was an act or ordinance against absenteeism,—one of the earliest as well as most permanent of the many grievances attendant on that country's anomalous position. By this measure,—the first ever enacted on the subject †, and passed by the parliament of England, in consequence of a petition from Ireland,—it was ordained that all who possessed lands, rents, or offices in that kingdom should forthwith repair thither and become residents, for the purpose of watching and defending them; or, in case they could allege any sufficient cause for their absence, they were

* Lingard.

† "Then was the first statute made against absentees."—*Davies.*

then to send, or find in that country, responsible persons to act as their deputies, and defend their possessions; otherwise two thirds of their Irish revenues were to be contributed by them towards that object. Some exceptions were made to this law in favour of persons in the king's service, of students in the universities, and of those absent for reasonable causes, by special licence under the great seal of England; from all of whom there was only required, for the defence of the land, one third of the yearly profits of their estates. Another step taken with a view to reformation, was the appointment of sir Nicholas Dagworth to proceed to Ireland, furnished with instructions and powers to survey the possessions of the crown, and call to account the officers of the Irish revenue. *

About the same time leave was granted by the king, in consequence of a petition to that effect, for a free trade in "wines and other merchandises," between Ireland and Portugal. †

In the third year of Richard's reign, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, and son to Lionel, duke of Clarence, was sent over to Ireland as lord lieutenant; and, about the same time, a number of French and Spanish galleys, which had done much mischief on the coasts of Ireland, having been driven by the English fleet into the harbour of Kinsale, were there attacked, with much bravery, by a combined force of English and Irish, and sustained a complete defeat; their chief captains were all taken ‡, 400 of the sailors slain, and a great number of their barges captured. A. D. 1380.

On the death of the earl of March §, in the second

* Davies. — According to an entry in the Issue Roll of this year, the mission of Dagworth was "for the purpose of inquiring concerning the estate and government of the land; and, also, of the estate, conduct, and condition of the men at arms, archers, and others dwelling there, at the king's charge, for the protection of the land." — *Pell Records.*

† Pat. Roll, 3 Ric. II.—Prynne, 308.

‡ "Virtute et animositate Anglicorum et Hibernicorum capti sunt duces eorum." — *Walsingham.* The particulars of this action, as given by Walsingham, may be found translated in Holinshed. See also Smith, *History of Cork*, book. ii. chap. 3.

§ This lord went to the trouble of having some oaks transported to Ireland from his woods in Monmouthshire, for the purpose of building a

year of his government, the prelates, magnates, and commons of the realm were immediately summoned to meet at Cork for the purpose of electing a worthy
A. D. successor to the vacant office * ; and the choice falling
1381. unanimously upon John Colton, then chancellor of Ireland, this distinguished ecclesiastic, who became afterwards archbishop of Armagh, was raised to the post of lord justice. He remained, however, but a few weeks in this station, being succeeded, towards the end of January, by the young Roger earl of March, son of the former lord lieutenant ; and, this prince
1382. being still under age, the affairs of the realm were administered, in his name, by his guardian and uncle, Thomas Mortimer ; so that, in Ireland, as well as in England, the executive power of the realm was, at this time, in tutelage.

The laudable desire evinced by the council of regency, at the outset of Richard's reign, for a searching inquiry into the administration of Irish affairs, and a vigorous reform of the abuses prevailing in all its departments, was now further shown by the firmness of their measures against Philip de Courtenay, cousin of
1383. the king, who had succeeded the young earl of March as lord lieutenant. Being the possessor of a considerable estate in the country, he was thought to be therefore peculiarly suited to the office ; and by special favour, a grant was made to him of this high post for the space of ten years. Presuming, doubtless, on this long tenure of power, he conducted himself with such utter disregard to law and justice †, that, by order of the

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bridge over the river Banne, "juxta villam de Kolleroth." — *Priorat. de Wigmore, Monast. Anglican.* He also supplied the monastery of Wigmore, to which he was much attached, with oxen, cows, sea fish, &c. from Ireland, as well as a share of the plunder acquired by him in his military capacity in that country,—"militari fortunâ sibi in prædam cedentia."— *Priorat. de Wigmore.*

* Pat. Roll, 5 Ric. II.—In his History of the Bishops, Ware incorrectly represents Colton as having been appointed lord justice the day after the earl of March's death, wholly omitting the important point of the summoning of a parliament for his election. There must have intervened nearly a fortnight before his appointment to the office.

† Rymer, tom. vi. p. 504.

English authorities, he was taken into custody, while in the exercise of his vice-regal functions, and not only dispossessed of his high office, but severely punished for the oppressions and gross exactions of which he had been guilty.*

The direct agency, however, of the youthful monarch, was now beginning to make itself felt in the public councils; and that fatal mixture in his character, of vehement self-will and passion, with but a limited share of judgment, which led ultimately to his ruin, was now shown in the favours showered by him on his young favourite, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, whom he created successively marquis of Dublin and duke of Ireland, and bestowed on him the entire sovereignty of that kingdom during his life, to be held by him as fully and perfectly as by Richard himself, or any of his royal progenitors. † That the transfer, thus, of an ancient and once independent kingdom, should have been treated as a matter of child's play between a young king and his youthful minion, can hardly be a subject of much wonder; but the solemn sanction of an act so puerile, and, moreover, illegal, by the grave prelates, peers, and commons of an English parliament, only shows how unscrupulous may be the decisions of a large body of councillors acting in concert, and under a responsibility scarce felt from being divided among so many. This parliament, also, with the view, doubtless, of ridding themselves of the favourite's presence, allotted the sum of 30,000 ‡ marks for his intended expedition to his new kingdom, besides a force of 500 men-at-arms, and 1000 archers.

A. D. 1385.

* Davies.—In the Issue Roll of the thirteenth year of this reign, we find entries of payments made to sir Philip Courtenay, in recompence of damage done to his goods and chattels by the officers of Robert de Vere, from which it would appear that, of the two personages, Courtenay was much the more injured. — See *Issues of the Exchequer*, edited by Edward Devon.

† "Adeo plene, integre et perfecte, sicut nos ea tenuimus et habuimus tenuerunt et habuerunt progenitorum nostrorum aliqui," &c. For the letters patent granting to this young lord the title of Marquis of Dublin, the coat of arms, azure, with three golden crowns, &c., see Prynne, p. 87.

‡ The sum allotted for this purpose was a debt to the amount of 30,000 marks due from the king of France.

Accompanied by Richard himself, De Vere proceeded as far as Wales on his way to Ireland; but there the monarch, either unwilling to part with his favourite, or seeing other emergencies arise in which his aid would be required, abandoned the intention of sending him to Ireland, and appointed sir John Stanley to be lord deputy of that realm. While Stanley held this office, the
A. D. great northern chieftain, O'Neill, and his sons, sent in
1389. their submission to the government in writing, renounced all claim to the bonaght* of Ulster, and gave oaths and hostages for their future allegiance.

On the death of the duke of Ireland, who ended his days in exile and misery at Louvain, James, the third earl of Ormond, was made lord justice; and, in a sharp
1392. action fought by him with some Irish septs at a place called Tascoffin in the county of Kilkenny, slew 600 of their force. †

Though of such details as would afford any insight into the internal state of the country, the records of this period are even more than usually barren, the single fact that, in almost every parliament held in England during this reign, the king applied for aid to carry on the war in Ireland, sufficiently shows the sort of relationship in which, after a lapse of more than two centuries, the rulers and the ruled of that land still continued to stand towards each other. When such was the habitual condition of the country, it is by no means surprising that laws to compel people to reside in it should be of frequent occurrence in the statute book; or that neither by these laws, nor by their own stake in the soil, could land proprietors be brought to remain on their Irish estates. To so great an extent did this abuse prevail in the first years of the present reign, that the province of the Pale was left nearly depopulated by the great concourse of Irish landholders into England;

* *Bonaght* was an exaction imposed, at the pleasure of the lord, for the maintenance of his soldiers. "There were," says Harris, "two sorts of this imposition, viz. *Bonaght-bur*, which was free quarter at discretion, and *Bonaght-beg*, which was a commutation for it in money or provisions, according to agreement with the lord."—Harris's Ware, *Antiq.* chap. 12.

† Cox.

and as, owing to this state of affairs, the king's revenue had been much reduced, while the power and daring of the Irish rebels were daily increasing, it was thought expedient to revive the law against absentees, and to put forth a proclamation, requiring all persons whose homes were in that kingdom to repair thither without delay.

The duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, a prince who combined in himself both the high rank to which the Irish were supposed to be partial*, and the vigour of character fitted for supreme command, consented to accept the office of lord lieutenant; and was already preparing to embark with an army for the seat of his government, when a royal order reached him, countermanding his departure, and, at the same time, acquainting him with the king's intention to conduct an expedition into Ireland in person. A. D. 1393.

For the adoption of this project so suddenly by Richard, various motives have been conjecturally assigned, each of them likely enough to have had some share in inducing him to form his determination. Besides the natural hope that his presence with a large force would do much towards curbing and pacifying the Irish, the grievous loss he had lately sustained by the death of his consort, the "good" queen Anne, had cast a cloud over his spirits which the excitement, it was hoped, of so new and stirring a scene would tend to dissipate. But among these conjectures as to his motive for so sudden an enterprise, none seems more probable than that which attributes it to the mortifying repulse lately experienced by him, in his ambitious effort to be elected emperor of Germany.† On that occasion, when his ambassadors solicited for him the imperial crown, they were told that the electors did not

* Walsingnam.—"All the Irishry," says Davies, "were ready to submit themselves before his coming; so much the very name of a great personage, especially a prince of the blood, did ever prevail with this people." The government of Ireland was again, at a subsequent period, offered to Gloucester; but he declined accepting it, saying, that Ireland was a country in which he could reap neither wealth nor glory.

† Davies. — Cox.

hold a prince to be worthy of that dignity who could neither keep what his ancestors had gained in France, repress the insolence of his English subjects, nor reduce to obedience his rebellious vassals in Ireland. This bitter taunt, which it is not improbable may have added a spur to his present enterprise, was, as far as it regarded Ireland, perfectly founded in truth; and not with reference merely to its state under Richard himself, but to the condition of its people throughout every reign, from the time of the first landing of an English king upon their shores.

How little had, during that interval, been really effected towards their subjection, is virtually acknowledged in the letters patent conveying Ireland to the royal favourite, Robert de Vere;—the object of the powers thereby intrusted to him having been, in express terms, the "conquest" of that land. For this yet unaccomplished purpose, the army now landed by Richard at A. D. 1394. Waterford, which consisted of 4000 men-at-arms, and 30,000 archers, might appear to have been more than a sufficient force. But there hung a spell about the "Isle of Destiny*," which continued to baffle and put to shame the arms and counsels of her invaders. With such a force to command submission, there was only wanting sufficient wisdom to lay the foundations of social improvement, by extending the protection of English law to the whole native population, and thus giving them that interest in the peace and wellbeing of the community which a right to participate in all its safeguards and advantages is sure to inspire. Had such a course of policy been adopted by Richard, it is fair to conclude, from the petitions addressed to some of his predecessors, as well from large bodies of the natives as from individuals, praying for the benefits of the English law, that a measure granting this desired boon to the whole kingdom, and even enforcing its general acceptance, would have been hailed with joy and thankfulness by the great mass of the Irish people, and might have

* Inisfail, an ancient name of Ireland.

abridged, by many centuries, the dominion of anarchy in that realm.

But such, unluckily, was not the policy which this young monarch, though with means so ample, and having, to a certain extent, clear views of his regal duty, was far-sighted enough to adopt. A merely outward show of submission and allegiance, such as had been proffered to his progenitors, John and Henry II., was all that his superficial and hasty ambition aimed at; and this the present race of chieftains were fully as ready to proffer and promise as their ancestors, and, it may be added, with quite as little intention of adhering to their engagements. On the first alarm of his arrival, at the head of so numerous a force, — the largest ever yet landed upon the Irish shores, — the natives had fled to those natural fastnesses which a country intersected with woods and morasses afforded to them*, and so were enabled to elude the invader's approach. But all intention of offering resistance to so powerful a force was soon abandoned; and, it being understood that the submission of the chieftains would be graciously received, O'Neill, and other lords of Ulster, met the king at Drogheda, and there did homage and swore fealty with the usual solemnities, — laying aside their girdles, skeins, and caps, and then falling upon their knees at his feet.†

In the meanwhile, Mowbray, earl of Nottingham and lord marshal of England, had been specially commissioned by the king to receive the homage and oaths of fealty of the Irish of Leinster. On the open plain, at Balligory, near Carlow, an interview was held

* "But I shewe you, bycause ye should knowe the truth, Ireland is on of the yvell countreis of the world to make warre upon, or to bring under subiection, for it is closed strongely and wydely with high forestes, and great waters and maresshes and places inhabytable; it is harde to entre to do them of the countrey anie domage; now ye shall fynde no towne nor persone to speke withal; for the men drawe to the woodes and dwell in caves and small cotages, under trees, and among busshes and hedges, lyke wylde savage beestes. . . . . For a man of arms beyng never so well horsed, and ron as fast as he can, the Yrisshemen wyll ryn afote as faste as he, and overtake hym, yea, and leape up upon his horse behynde him, and drawe hym from his horse." — *Froissart.*

† Davies.

by this lord with Art Mac Morough, the heir of the ancient kings of Leinster, and several other southern chiefs*, who there went through the same ceremonies of submission as had been performed in the king's presence, at Drogheda; after which the lord marshal gave to each of them the kiss of peace. They were likewise bound severally, by indentures, and in large penalties, payable in the apostolic chamber, not only to continue loyal subjects, but to answer, for themselves and all their swordmen, that they would, on a certain fixed day, surrender to the king and his successors all the lands and possessions held by them in Leinster, taking with them only their moveable goods. They also pledged themselves to serve him in his wars against all other Irish.†

In return for this total surrender of their ancient rights and patrimonies, they were to be taken into the pay of the crown, and receive pensions during their lives, together with the inheritance of all such territories as they could seize from the rebels in other parts of the realm; thus giving to these wretched chieftains, as a sort of salve for the injuries perpetrated on themselves, full licence, and even encouragement, to inflict the same enormities upon others. The pension of eighty marks, bestowed on Mac Morough, the captain of the Cavanaghs, at this time, was continued to his posterity till the time of Henry VIII.

Neal O'Neill, who, in the letters addressed by him to the king‡, styles himself prince of the Irish of Ulster, was bound, in the indenture agreed upon between them, not only to remain faithful to the crown of England, but to restore to the earl of Ulster the bonaght, or war tax, of that province, which the family of the

* The names of the chiefs who submitted to Richard are thus strangely metamorphosed by Otterbourne:—"Perterriti eorum reguli se regi submiserunt, viz. Power, cum filio suo juxta Waterford; Ocell, Onelon, cum filio suo Abron; Macmourth, cum presbytero, Powerest, Dymell, Dagwith, de Demisin, et Arcay."—*Chronic. Reg. Angliæ.*

† Cox.

‡ "Ego Nelanus O'Neil senior, tam pro meipso, quam pro filiis meis, et tota natione mea, et parentelis meis, et pro omnibus subditis meis, devenio ligeus homo vester," &c. &c.

O'Neills, it was alleged, had usurped. It appears, from the inrolments still preserved of these different indentures and submissions, that the number of chieftains who proffered their homage and oaths of fidelity, was no less than seventy-five, — a fact, in itself, abundantly showing what a scene of confusion must have been the country in which such numbers of rude and petty potentates contributed each his share of despotism and misrule.

From the correspondence that passed between Richard and his council in England, during this expedition, it is clear that he regarded the submission of O'Neill and M'Morough as a signal success gained by his presence; while the council, in replying to his account of his "noble voyage," as they style it, return, like skilful courtiers, an echo to his own opinion of it. In one important respect, these letters reflect credit on the monarch's memory, as showing him to have had sense enough to discover that English misrule was the main cause of Irish revolt, and manly candour enough to acknowledge so new and unpopular an opinion. "There are, in this our land," he writes from Dublin*, "three classes of persons, — wild Irish, or enemies, Irish rebels, and English subjects; and, considering that the rebels have been made such by wrongs, and by the want of due attention to their grievances, and that, if they be not wisely treated, and encouraged by hopes of favour, they will most probably join themselves with our enemies, we think it right to grant them a general pardon, and take them under our especial protection."

In their reply to this letter of the king, the duke and the council, after significantly reminding him that they had formerly advised the adoption of severe mea-

* "Pource ensement qen notre terre Dirlande sont trois maners des gentz, cestassavoir Irrois savages nos enemis, Irroix rebelx et Engleis obeissantz: semble a nous et a notre counseil esteant entour nous que considerez que les ditz Irroix rebelx se sount par cas rebellez pour griefs et tortz a eux faites dune part et par defaute que remedie ne lour ad estez fet dautre part et qe ensement sils ne feussent sagement tretez et mis en bon espoir de grace, ils se vorroient verisemblablement joindre a nos enemis," &c. &c. — See *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, edited by sir Harris Nicholas.

sures against the rebels, add that, in deference to his wise discretion, and the greater opportunity he possessed of acquiring information, on the spot, they freely assent to his views, —provided that, in return for the pardons granted to the rebels, certain large fines and ransoms should be paid by them towards the charges of the king's voyage.*

It was evidently gratifying to the vanity of Richard to parade thus his state and magnificence in the eyes of the rude but proud chiefs who followed as vassals in his train. One of the charges against him, some years after, on his deposition by parliament, was, that he had carried away the crown jewels to Ireland; and doubtless the pleasure of surprising and dazzling these minor potentates was one of the very few purposes to which he could have found occasion to apply them. Wishing to confer upon these kings the honour of knighthood, he placed them under the care of an English gentleman, named Henry Castide †, who, having married a native woman and lived for many years in the country, was well acquainted with the Irish language, desiring that he would instruct them in the dress, ceremonies, and manner of behaviour which would be required of them on such an occasion. When informed of the king's intention to make them knights, according to the usage of France, England, and other countries, they answered that they were already knights, and needed no new creation. It was the custom, they added, of every Irish king, to confer that order upon his sons,

* *Proceedings and Ordinances, &c.*

† According to some readings, Cristal. This gentleman had been made prisoner, in a skirmish with the Irish, under circumstances which he himself thus described: — "It chanced that in this pursuit my horse took fright, and ran away with me, in spite of all my efforts, into the midst of the enemy. My friends could never overtake me; and in passing through the Irish, one of them, by a great feat of agility, leaped on the back of my horse, and held me tight with both his arms, but did me no harm with lance or knife. . . . He seemed much rejoiced to have made me his prisoner, and carried me to his house, which was strong, and in a town surrounded with wood, palisades, and stagnant water. The gentleman who had taken me was called Brin (or Brian) Costeret, a very handsome man. I have frequently made inquiries after him, and hear that he is still alive, but very old. This Brian Costeret kept me with him seven years, and gave me his daughter in marriage, by whom I have two girls." — *Froissart*, Johnes's translation.

when very young, and they themselves had been knights since they were seven years old; their first attempts at justing having been to run with small light spears against a shield set upon a stake in a meadow; and the more spears each of them broke, the more honour he acquired. *

According to the account given of these chiefs by the French chronicler, who received his information from their instructor, the progress made by them in the forms and observances of courtly society was by no means very promising. † It was with difficulty he could bring them to relinquish their practice of dining at the same table with their own minstrels and servants, or succeed in prevailing upon them to wear breeches according to the English fashion. Much persuasion also was necessary before they could be induced to exchange the simple mantle of the country, for robes of silk trimmed with squirrel skin or miniver. At length, by the intervention of the earl of Ormond, who spoke their language, and was generally respected by the Irish, they consented to submit to the required forms. Having kept watch all the night before in the church, they were knighted, on Lady-day, in the cathedral of Dublin; and the ceremony was followed by a great banquet, at which the four Irish kings attended in robes of state, and sate with king Richard at his table. ‡

In the midst of all this parade Richard forgot not altogether the higher duties of his kingly station, but showed, by the care which he took in providing the courts of justice with able and trustworthy judges, as well as by the reforms commenced by him in legal proceedings, according to the precedents of England, that he both knew where lay the true causes of Ireland's misrule, and was fairly disposed, had the state of his English dominions allowed him leisure, to endeavour A. D. 1394, 1395.

* Froissart.

† "Kynge Edwarde, of good memory, dyd never so worke upon them as kynge Richarde dyd in this voyage; the honour is great, but the profyte is but lytell; for though they be kynges, yet no man can deuyse nor speke of ruder personages." — *Froissart.*

‡ Froissart.

to correct and remove them. He had likewise, with a view to the peace and security of the city of Dublin, projected the establishment of a civil plantation in the mountains of Wicklow, having covenanted with the unquiet septs inhabiting that region, for their removal to some other quarter.*

But these wise and useful projects were now all suddenly interrupted. The council had already urged his speedy return to England, in consequence of a rumour having reached them of the intention of the Scots to break the present truce.† But a still more pressing motive presented itself. The daring attack made upon the revenues and discipline of the church by those disciples of Wycliffe, called Lollards, had spread much alarm among the whole body of the clergy; and the archbishop of York and the bishop of London were deputed to hasten to the king in Ireland, and represent to him the danger, both of spoliation and heresy to which the church was, at that moment, exposed. An appeal proceeding from this quarter he would doubtless regard as worthy of peculiar attention, on account of the munificence with which the church had come forward to contribute to the expenses of his Irish expedition; most of the prelates (as well as likewise of the lords of the council) having advanced each a loan of one thousand pounds, for that purpose; — not being bound thereto, as they took care to protest, by any strict right, but by their affection for their king. ‡

A. D. 1395. In consequence of all this, the king, after passing his birth-day in Dublin, and, according to some accounts, holding a parliament in that city, returned, in the summer of the year 1395, into England, leaving, most rashly, his young kinsman, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, with ample powers, to act as his lieutenant. This young nobleman, whose hereditary rank, in the event of

* Davies.

† "Par cause qe les Escotz a ce qe nous avons entenduz ne veullen tenir ne garder ces presentes trieues." — *Acts of Privy Council.*

‡ Walsingham. "Facta prius protestatione, quod ad hoc concedendum non tenebantur de stricto jure, sed sui regis affectione."

Richard dying without issue, placed him nearest in succession to the throne *, had, on the death of his father, at Cork, in 1382, been left a minor under the legal guardianship of the king; and though, in violation of this trust, some minions of the court had, during his minority, been admitted into the profits of the estates †, his property, nevertheless, on his coming of age, was immense. When accompanying the king to Ireland, he had in his retinue 100 men at arms, of which two were bannerets, and eight knights, 200 archers on horseback, and 400 archers on foot.

It soon became manifest, that the Irish chieftains, in their late specious submissions, had no other view than to bow temporarily to the immediate pressure of power, and then to raise again their heads as soon as the storm should have blown over; for, scarcely had the king sailed with his forces from the shore, when fierce incursions were made into the borders of the Pale. Thus suddenly attacked, and in different quarters at the same time, the English lords, supplying by valour what they wanted in numbers, repulsed boldly the assailants; and a force commanded by sir Thomas de Burgh and Walter de Bermingham, slew 600 of the Irish, together with their chieftain Mac Con. The lord lieutenant, assisted by the earl of Ormond, was no less successful in quelling the O'Byrnes of Wicklow; and the feat of storming the ancient manor-house of the chief of this sept was triumphantly commemorated within its walls, by the creation of seven knights. ‡

A summons, at this time, to attend the parliament, at Shrewsbury, afforded the young viceroy a welcome opportunity of displaying the pomp and pageantry in which he so much delighted; and he accordingly made his appearance there, at the head of a crowd of retainers, all apparelled, at his own expense, in white and crimson.§

* With a view to such an occurrence, he was nominated by the parliament of 1385 heir presumptive to the crown.

† Walsingham.

‡ Annal Hibern.

§ "Etiam expensis propriis, pro majori parte, in coloribus suis, scilicet rubeo et albo vestitis."

But a sad reverse awaited his return to the seat of his government. For, while engaged in a conflict, at Kenlis, with the sept of the O'Byrnes, having been hurried on, by his impetuous valour, into the ranks of the enemy, he was slain, and, it is said, torn to pieces, by the natives.*

A. D. 1398. In the year 1398, Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey, half brother to the king, was sent over to Ireland as lord lieutenant, attended by a foreigner, named Janico d'Artois, whose name occurs frequently, in our records, during this and the three or four following reigns, and always connected with the charge or exercise of some great public trust, military or civil.

Nearly five years had now elapsed from the time of Richard's first visit to Ireland, when, under circumstances which rendered so wild a scheme of adventure almost unaccountable, he again undertook a great expedition to that kingdom. The line of policy pursued by him, in England, during the interval, had been such as to render him at once powerful and odious; to remove arbitrarily out of his way all individual rivals and opponents, but, at the same time, to array against him the combined hatred of the great mass of the people. Of the immense power that had accrued to the crown, during the struggle, he was but too fully aware; but the amount and strength of the popular reaction against his tyranny, he was by no means prepared to expect,—having succeeded meanwhile in lulling himself into that false sense of security from which successful tyranny is in general awakened but by its downfal. In no other way can the strange fatuity be accounted for which led him, at this crisis of his fortunes, to absent himself from his high post, as sovereign of England, and with the sole view, as he professed,

* Nequiter occisus et membratim dilaceratus."—*Vita Regis Ric.* In answer to a petition of the earl of Northumberland, and other executors of this young lord (Close Roll, 1 Hen. IV.), he is said to have been "casualiter nequiter interfectus." It is added, in some accounts, that he was disguised, on this occasion, in the habit and accoutrements of an Irish soldier.

of avenging the death of his cousin, the earl of March*, to undertake a second wild and wasteful expedition against the rebellious chieftains of Ireland.

Having appointed his uncle, the duke of York, to be regent during his absence, the king, after assisting at a solemn mass at Windsor, and chanting a collect himself, took wine and spices, we are told, at the door of the church, with his young queen, who was then but eleven years of age, and, lifting her up in his arms, kissed her several times, saying, "Adieu, madam, adieu, till we meet again."† He then proceeded, attended by a train of lords, to Bristol, where some reports reached him of plots against his government, which were treated by him with disregard. For the naval part of the armament, the preparations had been on a grand scale. Impressment had been resorted to for the manning of the fleet; and vessels were ordered to assemble at Milford or Bristol from all ports and places on the sea-coast northward as far as Newcastle-upon-Tyne. There were also minstrels attendant upon the army; and, as one who accompanied the expedition tells us, "trumpets and the sound of minstrels might be heard day and night." Joining his forces at Milford Haven, he embarked in a fleet of 200 sail, and in less than two days arrived in sight of the tower of Waterford. On landing, he was received by the merchants and other citizens with a cordial welcome.‡ The king had been landed but a few days, when his active officer, Janico d'Artois, taking advantage of the approach of the grand army, began to attack the Irish; and, in a conflict with them at Kenlis, in the county of Kildare, slew 200 of their force.§ A. D. 1399.

* Walsingham. — In the writ ordering the preparations for this voyage he thus assigns the motives of his expedition: — "Propter malitiam quorundum Hibernicorum inimicorum nostrorum qui contra nos, ex eorum protervia, a diu est, rebelles et inobedientes accreverunt."

† Lingard.

‡ French metrical narrative: —

"Mainte trompette y pouvoit enoir,
De jour de nuit menestrelz retentir."

§ That this officer had already distinguished himself, during the duke of Surrey's government, may be concluded from the manner in which

After remaining about a week in Waterford, the king marched his army to Kilkenny, where he was detained for fourteen days, expecting anxiously the arrival of the duke of Albemarle. This nobleman, who was Richard's cousin, had been ordered to follow with a fleet of 100 sail, and his long delay was afterwards attributed to secret concert with the king's enemies. * When joined by this force, the monarch, though straitened for want of provisions for his unwieldy numbers, directed his march towards the chief Mac Morough, who, retired within his woods and fastnesses, with a large multitude of followers, bade defiance to the arms of the invaders, denounced their power as founded in force and injustice, and declared his resolution "to defend the land unto his death."

Relying on the strengths and intrenchments furnished to them by nature, and preferring the short irregular skirmish to the set battle, the Irish seldom afforded an opportunity of judging of the extent of their whole force. The narrator, however, of the events of this war — himself an eye-witness of much that he describes † — states Mac Morough's army to have consisted of "3000 stout men;" and adds, they were "such as it appeared to him the English marvelled to behold." ‡ But notwithstanding that the king's army

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their names are coupled by an old chronicler: — "Virtus ducis Southreiæ et Janichonis Alemanni in Hibernia clariut." — *Chronic. Tinemut. in Leland. Collectan.* Though described in this extract as a German, he is generally supposed to have been a Gascon gentleman.

* Lingard. — "He was kept (says Stow) tarrying for the duke of Albemarle, that kept not the right course."

† The writer of the *Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre, Richard*, — an account, in French metre, of the last four or five months of Richard's reign. Of this curious tract there exist two MSS., one of which is in the British Museum, and the other in the library of Lambeth Palace. A translation of that portion of the story which relates to Ireland was made by the eminent sir George Carew, lord president of Munster (see Harris's *Hibernica*). But the entire narrative has found, within our own time, an accomplished translator and commentator in the Rev. J. Webb, *Archæologia*, vol. xx.

‡ Carew's translation; thus translated by Webb: — "Wilder people I never saw; they did not appear to me to be much dismayed at the English." The following is the original: —

> "Trois mil homes qui fourent moult hardi,
> Et si apers, conques telz gens ne vy;
> Dangloiz trop pou estoient esbahi,
> Ce me sembla."

remained for some time drawn out, in order of battle, at the entrance of the dense woods in which the natives had intrenched themselves, there appeared no chance of provoking the latter to risk an engagement in the open field. All that remained, therefore, for Richard, was, to set fire to the adjacent villages, and employ their inhabitants in cutting a passage for the march of his army through the woods. Having taken this resolution, the king advanced his standard, and created under it several knights, among whom was the young Henry of Monmouth, — in after years, the victorious Henry the Fifth, — whom a spectator of the scene describes as then "a young, fair, and promising bachelor." The king had taken this youth with him to Ireland, in order that he might learn there the rudiments of war, and make his first trial of arms*; and on the present occasion, when raising him to the honour of knighthood, Richard is said to have thus addressed him, — "My fair cousin, be henceforth preux and valiant, for you have some valiant blood to conquer."

But the march of the royal army was beset with difficulties and delays, the road being encumbered with fallen trees, and in many places so boggy, that the soldiers, as they marched, sunk into it up to the middle; while, in the mean time, flying parties of Irish, "so nimble and swift of foot, that, like unto stags, they ran over mountains and valleys," hovered around with barbarous howls, in every direction, cutting off the stragglers and foragers, and hurling their darts or short javelins with a degree of force that no coat of arms could withstand.

Though Mac Morough himself had beheld without flinching the approach of the assailants, there were others of the Irish chiefs, and among those his own uncle, who, panic-struck by the numbers of the enemy, hastened, with halters round their necks, and, falling

* "Ut rem militarem disceret et primum exerceret." — Tit. Liv. *Vita Hen. V.*

prostrate at the king's feet, implored of him mercy and peace. A grant of free pardon was accordingly vouchsafed to them, on condition of their swearing to remain, from thenceforward, true and loyal subjects. At the same time, a message was sent by the king to Mac Morough, summoning that chief to appear before him in a like suppliant guise, and engaging that, if he would thus humbly submit himself, not only should mercy be accorded to him, but the king would bestow upon him, as the reward of his loyalty, ample territories and towns.

The subtle chief, however, knew far too well the real motive of these plausible offers, to allow himself to be shaken, for a moment, from his plan of protracted resistance. He knew, so distressed were the English army for want of provisions, that numbers of the soldiers had already perished by famine; that this scourge had extended also to the officers, and that the whole camp was full of despondence and murmurs. Emboldened, therefore, by this knowledge, he replied to the king's message, that "not all the gold in the world could tempt him into submission; that he would continue still to carry on the war, and do the king all the injury in his power." In the mean time, the arrival from Dublin of three ships, laden with provisions, afforded some slight relief to the famished soldiers, who are described as plunging eagerly into the sea to reach the vessels, and even wounding each other in their fierce contest for relief.

The king was now left no other alternative than to decamp and march immediately for Dublin: nor even this was he allowed to effect without molestation, as the Irish enemy hung upon his rear, and, by harassing the troops with constant skirmishes, delayed and embarrassed their retreat.

Having performed thus the only duty that Ireland's chiefs were now left the power to fulfil, — that of reminding their proud masters that the conquered still had arms, nor wanted the spirit to use them, — Mac

Morough sent to request of the king a safe conduct to the royal presence, for the purpose of tendering his humble submission; — or, if this proposal should be found displeasing, suggesting that Richard should send some of his lords to treat with the chief on terms of peace. The news of this overture was received with delight in the English camp, where all were weary of the hard service they had lately been engaged in, and joyfully welcomed a chance of rest. By advice of his council, the king appointed the earl of Gloucester, who was the commander of his rear-guard, to meet Mac Morough at the place of conference; instructing him to impress on the chief the enormity of his wrongs and crimes against the king's lieges; and also the retribution demanded by justice for his many gross and daring breaches of faith.

The earl took with him to this singular interview a guard of 200 lances and 1000 archers; and among the personages who, from mere curiosity, accompanied him to the scene of the conference, was, luckily, the writer of the narrative already so frequently referred to, whose lively description of the manner and appearance of the Irish chief shall here be given, as nearly as translation will allow, in his own words. "From a mountain, between two woods, not far from the sea, we saw Mac Morough descending, accompanied by multitudes of the Irish, and mounted upon a horse without a saddle, which cost him, it was reported, 400 cows. His horse was fair, and, in his descent from the hill to us, ran as swift as any stag, hare, or the swiftest beast I have ever seen.* In his right hand he bore a long spear, which, when near the spot where he was to meet the earl, he cast from him with much dexterity. The crowd that followed him then remained

* "Entre deux bois, assez loing de la mer
Maquemore la montaigne avalcr
Vy, et dirloiz, que pars ne scay nombrer,
Y ot foison.
Un cheval ot sans sele ne arcon,
Qui lui avoit couste, ce disoit on,
Quatreces vaches tant estoit bel et bon."

behind, while he advanced to meet the earl, near a small brook. * He was tall of stature, well composed, strong and active; his countenance fierce and cruel." †

The parley that then ensued was maintained for a considerable time; the English lord reproaching the chief with his various acts of perfidy, his murder of the earl of March ‡, and of others of the king's loyal subjects. But on neither side was any advance made towards reconcilement, and the conference ended in leaving the parties as much asunder as when it commenced; the sole conditions on which the king would admit Mac Morough to his peace being such as that chief had haughtily declared he would never submit to while he had life. The Leinster prince had therefore to return to his woods and fastnesses; while Gloucester hastened back to report the result to his royal master, who, thrown into a violent rage, on hearing it, swore by St. Edward, that "he would never depart out of Ireland until he had Mac Morough, living or dead, in his hands."

But the unfortunate monarch's own doom was now fast approaching. He had reached Dublin, with his army, and found in that city such plenty of provisions, that even the 30,000 men which his force added to the population did not much raise, we are told, the prices in the market. § Here he was joined at last,

* "Deulx deux fut la lassemblee faite
Pres dun ruissel.
La se maintint masquemore : asselz bel
Grans homs estoit, a merveillez ysnel ;
A vous dueil sembloit fort fier et fel,
Et homs de fait."

† *Metrical Narrative*, Carew's translation.

‡ "Quant le conte de la Marche courtoyz
Firent mourir, sans jugement ne loiz."

The epithet "courteous" here bestowed upon the young earl of March, is fully justified by the character given of him in a record cited by Mr. Webb: "He was distinguished by the qualities held in estimation at that time; a stout tourneyer, a famous speaker, a costly feaster, a bounteous giver, in conversation affable and jocose, in beauty of form surpassing his fellows."

§ "Dublin, a good city," says the *Metrical Narrative*, "standing upon the sea, and containing such great abundance of merchandise and provi-

by the reinforcements under the duke of Albemarle, whose arrival he had been so long expecting; and, having resolved to carry on the war vigorously against Mac Morough, he divided his army into three portions, with the view of surrounding the fierce chief in his woody covert, and so hunting him into the toils. He had also proclaimed that whoever would deliver him into his hands, dead or alive, should receive 100 marks of gold.

For the space of six weeks during which Richard remained in Dublin, passing the time in a round of gaieties and pomps, there prevailed such a course of stormy weather and adverse winds that all communication of intelligence from England was interrupted; "which appeared to me, undoubtedly," adds the authority already cited, "to be a presage that God was displeased with the king." At last, there arrived a small bark in the port of Dublin, conveying to Richard the alarming intelligence that Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster, had taken advantage of his absence to land in England; that already some of the most powerful of the English barons had joined his banner, as well as a large portion of the mass of the people, and that this spirit of disaffection was spreading fast through the whole kingdom. The first act of Richard, on learning this ominous news, was to give vent to a burst of petty revenge against Lancaster, by ordering his unoffending son, the young lord Henry, to be imprisoned in the castle of Trim, together with the son of the duke of Gloucester.

The advice of the majority of Richard's council was, that he should proceed with all possible speed to England; but Albemarle — who possessed, undeservedly, as it proved, his confidence, — opposed this opinion of the council; and recommended that, for the present, there should only be sent a small detachment,

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sions, that it was said that neither flesh nor fish, bread-corn nor wine, nor other store, was any dearer for all the army of the king. I know full well that they were more than 30,000 that sojourned therein and around."

under lord Salisbury, into Wales, there to form a point of union for the king's friends; while, in the mean time, sufficient shipping might be collected at Waterford to convey from thence the king and the main body of his force. This ill-omened advice was readily adopted; the earl of Salisbury, as he reluctantly embarked, entreating most earnestly of his royal master to follow without delay; while the king, in promising to lose no time, swore also, by great oaths, that "if Lancaster fell into his hands, he would cause him to die such a death as that the fame thereof should sound as far as Turkey." Notwithstanding all this show of spirit, nearly three weeks elapsed before Richard arrived in Milford Haven; and, during that interval, the last feeble chance of preserving either his throne or life had vanished.

It may be worth noticing that, in answer to a petition from Ireland, in the third year of this reign, praying for leave to dig mines, the king gives permission for every one to dig in his own grounds, for gold, silver, and all other metals, during the six following years,— paying the ninth part thereof to the king, and sending the rest to the king's mint, at Dublin.* The gold mines of Ireland had been, from very early times, a subject of speculation; and it appears from a writ addressed, in the year 1360, to James earl of Ormond, that several mines, both of gold and silver, were at that time supposed to have been discovered. †

* Prynne, p. 308.

† "Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod quamplures minæ auri et argenti, in dicta terra nostra Hibernia existunt," &c. — Rymer, tom. v. ad ann. 1360.

CHAP. XXXIX.

HENRY IV.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER. — BENEFICIAL ULTIMATELY TO ENGLAND — RUINOUS TO IRELAND. — INVASION OF SCOTLAND BY HENRY. — PREDATORY ATTACKS ON THE IRISH COASTS BY THE SCOTS. — THE KING'S SON MADE LORD LIEUTENANT. — MURDER OF THE SHERIFF OF LOUTH BY FOUR ENGLISH GENTLEMEN. — RIGHT OF THE SWORD CONFERRED ON THE CORPORATION OF DUBLIN. — SUBMISSION OF IRISH CHIEFS. — PARLIAMENT HELD AT TRIM. — EXPEDITION AGAINST MAC MOROUGH — HIS GALLANT RESISTANCE AND DEFEAT. — THE KING'S SON, THOMAS OF LANCASTER, AGAIN MADE LIEUTENANT — REFORMS CONTEMPLATED BY HIM. — ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF THE EARL OF KILDARE. — THE LORD LIEUTENANT WOUNDED IN AN AFFRAY — SUMMONS A PARLIAMENT — IS SUCCEEDED IN HIS OFFICE BY THE PRIOR OF KILMAINHAM. — STATE OF IRELAND AT THIS PERIOD. — PROOFS OF THE DECLINE OF ENGLISH POWER.

By Henry's election to the throne of England, — for such was virtually his title to the crown, — the seeds were sown of those long and sanguinary wars, between the two rival houses of York and Lancaster, of which the whole history is as confused and uncertain as the known results were bloody, treacherous, and disgraceful. One salutary consequence, however, of these contests was the gradual extension of the powers of parliament, and those wholesome restraints on the royal authority, which the precarious position of the Lancastrian princes, enabled the commons, through three successive reigns, to urge and impose. It was, unfortunately, only in the evils of such a struggle that the usual destiny of Ireland allowed her to have any share. The important principle established by Richard's deposition, and the weight thrown into the popular scale by the uncertainty of the tenure of the crown, were advantages derived by England from the wars of the two Roses, which she purchased

A. D. 1399.

cheaply, even at the cost of so many years of internal strife. But far different were the state and prospects of the wretched people so anomalously connected with her, who, while sharing in all the worst consequences of such a course of convulsion, saw neither hope nor chance of any of its atoning advantages; but, left at the mercy of some viceroy's deputy, without even an attempt to redress or palliate their wrongs, found that, though subjects of a state advancing in the high road to freedom, they were, themselves, sinking every day deeper into degradation and barbarism.

When Henry, soon after his accession, assuming the character of lord superior of Scotland, proceeded to invade that country, the northern coasts of Ireland became frequently an object of attack on the part of the Scots. "Both from the high country and from the isles," as the language of the record expresses it *, numerous expeditions were fitted out for the Irish shores; where the traditions, still freshly preserved, of the gallant though fruitless efforts of Bruce, could not fail to rally the natives around the Scottish banner. One of these small armaments, having been encountered, near Strangford in Ulster, by a naval force, under the command of the constable of Dublin castle, repulsed triumphantly the attack and slew great numbers of the English.†

A. D. 1400, 1401.

During the administration of sir John Stanley, who held at this period the post of lord lieutenant, a subsidy was granted, for three years, by the English parliament, to provide for the exigencies of the government.

The policy which had been pursued in most of the preceding reigns, and, on no graver grounds, probably, than the supposed fancy of the Irish for persons of high rank, of sending some member of the royal family to direct the affairs of that country, was adopted likewise under the present king, who intrusted to his second son, Thomas, duke of Lancaster, though not yet quite of age ‡, the

* Pat. Roll, 5 Hen. IV. — "Tam de alta patria quam de insulis."

† Cox. — Marleburrough.

‡ Thomas Erpingham and Hugh Waterton, knight, had been appointed the young lord lieutenant's guardians. — *Pat. Roll*, 3 Hen. IV.

responsible office of lord lieutenant. Landing, on Sunday the 13th of November, at a place called Blowyk, near Dalkey*, this prince proceeded from thence, on the same day, to Dublin. Shortly after his arrival, John Drake, the mayor of Dublin, marched forth, at the head of a strong body of citizens, against the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, whose force consisted, it is said, of 4000 men, and encountering them in the neighbourhood of Bray, killed near 500 of their number, and put the rest to rout. † A.D. 1402.

An event that occurred in the course of this administration shows how very little, in respect of civilisation and morals, the despised native and his proud foreign master differed from each other. During a parliament held in Dublin, by the lord lieutenant, sir Bartholomew Vernon and three other English gentlemen publicly attacked and murdered the sheriff of Louth, John Dowdal; for which, and for sundry other felonies committed by them, these civilisers of Ireland were outlawed, and their estates disposed of by custodiams.‡ But even this sluggish effort of justice was only transitory, as the king, shortly after, pardoned the offences of the criminals, and restored to them their estates during life. §

An event, important at least in the history of the corporation of Dublin, took place in the course of this year. The right of the sword, or, in other words, the privilege of having a gilt sword carried before its chief magistrate, was granted by the king to the city of Dublin. ||

* "Applicuit apud Blowyk juxta Dalkey."—*Pat. Roll, 3 Hen. IV.*

† Marleburrough. — Harris (*Hist. of Dublin*) incorrectly cites Campion as having made the number of slain amount to 4000.

‡ Marleburrough.

§ Cox.

|| Pat. Roll, 4 Hen. IV. "Quod major civitatis Dublini et successores sui imperpetuum, habeant quandam gladium, deauratum coram eis postatum prout Major' London'." Cox, who places this event incorrectly in the tenth year of Henry's reign, adds, that at the same time with the grant of the sword, the "provost" of Dublin was changed into a "mayor." But this is also incorrect. As early as the 18th year of Henry III. we find a writ of the king addressed, "Majori et civibus Dublin;" and the cities of Waterford, Drogheda, Limerick, Cork, could all boast of mayors at nearly as early a period. See Smith's *Hist. of Cork*, book ii. chap. ix.; —

As the outward and specious submission of some of the principal native chiefs formed, in general, a part of the pageant prepared to welcome the presence of royalty on these shores, an imposing display of this kind was not wanting to greet the present vicegerent; and Achy Mac Mahon, O'Byrne of the Mountains, and Ryley, the head of a great northern sept, all submitted and entered into covenants of allegiance and service with the lord lieutenant.* In the instance of O'Byrne, too, a pledge of no ordinary value was obtained; as this chief, in assurance of his sincerity, granted to the king the castle of Mackenigan, and the appurtenances. After remaining not quite two years of his long term, the royal duke returned to England, leaving as deputy, sir Stephen Scroop, who, in the following year, resigned to a new lord justice, James earl of Ormond.

A. D. 1404. Though the truce that ensued between England and Scotland, after the memorable victory of Homildon Hill, was at this period still in force, there occurred, on both sides, frequent infractions of it, by armed merchantmen and cruisers. The depredations of some Scottish pirates, in the Irish seas, provoked reprisals of a similar nature; and the merchants of Drogheda, as well as of Dublin, fitting out ships to different parts of the coast of Scotland, succeeded in bringing from thence considerable plunder. In a marauding expedition of the same kind into Wales,—where the heroic chieftain, Owen Glendower, was, at this time, baffling the arms of the Henrys, both father and son, by efforts of valour so prodigious as to be attributed to the spells of necromancy,— there was now carried away, among other booty, a shrine of the

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Ferrar's *Hist. of Limerick*; where the first mayor of Limerick is placed ten years earlier than the first mayor of London;— Ryland's *Hist. of Waterford*, where, however, the date of the first mayor is carried no farther back than A.D. 1377; &c. &c. To the mayors of Dublin, Holinshed pays the following tribute of praise:—"This maioralitie, both for state and charge of office, and for bountiful hospitalitie, exceedeth anie citie in England, London excepted."

* Pat. Roll, 3 Hen. IV.— To Achy Mac Mahon, at the same time, was granted, during his life, on condition that he should always be ready, with his force, against the king's rebels, the land and demesne (with the exception of the castle) of Fernewy, in the county of Louth.

Welsh saint, St. Cubin, which the pious plunderers, on their return to Dublin, placed as an offering in the priory of the Holy Trinity, now called Christ Church.*

The piratical warfare between the Irish merchants and the Scots was put an end to this year, by a sort of treaty of peace, the negotiation of which with Macdonald, lord of the isles, was intrusted by the king to John Dongan, bishop of Derry, and Janico d'Artois. A. D. 1405.

Gerald, the fifth earl of Kildare, having been for a short time lord justice, gave place to sir Stephen Scroop, who again came over as lord deputy, and held a parliament at Dublin, in January, which, in the Lent after, concluded its session at Trim. 1406.

It is painful to be compelled to remind the reader that such, and such only, is the quality of the materials furnished by Ireland to the pen of history, at a period that witnessed the dawning glories of the future hero of Azincourt, and which, in such storied names as Hotspur, Douglas, Owen Glendower, has transmitted recollections that link history with song, and lend a lustre to the humblest legend in which even a trace of such names is found.

The Leinster chieftain, Art Mac Morough, who defied so boldly, as we have seen, in his rude fortresses, the showy squadrons of the late king Richard, had remained, for the first few years of this reign, perfectly quiet; and we find that, shortly after Henry's accession, the letters patent of the 18th year of Richard, granting a pension of eighty marks a year to this chief, were inspected by the king and ratified.† But, in consequence, this year, of some hostile demonstration on his part, the lord deputy Scroop, accompanied by the earls of Ormond and Desmond, the prior of Kilmainham, and other captains and gentlemen of Meath, set out from Dublin with a considerable force, and finding Mac Morough prepared to resist, marched their army into his territories. So gallant was the stand made by the Irish, that, for some time, the 1407.

* Marleburrough. † Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. IV.

fortune of the field was on their side. But at length the English, by superior soldiership, prevailed, and, learning that another body of insurgents was up at Callan, in the county of Kilkenny, they marched to that town with such rapidity as to take them by surprise, and about 800 of the rebels were, together with their leader, O'Carol, put to the sword.*

On returning to Dublin, the earl of Ormond†, though not yet of age, was elected lord justice, and, in the following year, held a parliament in that city, by which the statutes of Dublin and Kilkenny were again confirmed.

A. D. 1408. The experiment of the effects of a royal presence was now again resorted to in the person of Thomas, the young duke of Lancaster, but apparently not with improved success; although, in the terms on which he undertook the government, the powers and means he stipulated for, and the nature of the reforms contemplated by him, there is much that bespeaks at least the intention of fair and useful administration. Among other conditions, it is stipulated that, in order to strengthen the English plantation, he may be allowed to transport into Ireland, at the king's charge, one or two families from every parish in England. He also required that the demesnes of the crown should be resumed, and the act against absentees strictly enforced.†

The jealousy naturally felt towards the great Anglo-Irish lords by those Englishmen of high rank and station, who were sent over to administer the affairs of the kingdom, was strongly exemplified in the instance of

* Marleburrough.

† Natural son of the late or third earl of Ormond, who, says Carte, "had two illegitimate children, viz. Thomas le Botiller, alias Baccagh, prior of Kilmainham, a martial man, and lord justice of Ireland in 1408-9, — from whom came several good families of gentlemen in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, — and James le Botiller, alias Galdie, from whom the lords of Cahir (created barons in 1542) and divers other principal gentlemen, in the counties of Tipperary and Waterford, are descended." In speaking of this lord, who was the fourth earl of Ormond, Carte describes him as "not only a man of good parts, but (which was very rare in noblemen at that time) master of a great deal of learning;" such as was even thought, he adds, sufficient "to qualify him for the highest trusts and employments, before the law deemed him fit to enjoy his estate." — *Introduct.*

the present viceroy, who—apparently, without any just grounds for such violent proceedings—caused the earl of Kildare and three of his family to be arrested, and kept the earl himself a prisoner in Dublin Castle, until he had paid down the sum of 300 marks.* It is indeed manifest, even through the scanty notices of his government transmitted to us, that the royal duke was allowed but little repose or security during his lieutenancy; and mention is made of a serious encounter at Kilmainham, in which he was desperately wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life.† No further particulars of this affray are recorded; but that it was serious would appear from the measures soon after adopted by the duke, who ordered proclamation to be made that all who were bound by their tenures to serve the king, should forthwith assemble at Ross. He also summoned a parliament to meet at Kilkenny, in order to have a tallage granted.‡ How far he succeeded in the object of these assemblies does not appear; the only remaining event recorded of his administration being its final close, on the 13th of March, 1409, when the prince set sail for England, leaving his brother, Thomas Butler, the prior of Kilmainham, his deputy. A. D. 1409.

In the following year a parliament was held by the prior, at Dublin, which made it treason to exact coyne and livery; and shortly after, having imprudently ventured, with about 1500 kerns, or Irish infantry, to invade the O'Byrnes' country, one half of his followers deserted to the enemy, and he narrowly escaped a serious and disgraceful defeat.

No other event deserving of particular notice occurs in our records for the few remaining years of this reign, which was brought to a close by Henry's death, in the abbot's chamber, at Westminster, on the 20th of March, 1413.

Scantily supplied, as the historian finds himself, at this period, with the two great essentials of the historic scene, events and actors, his only resource for the means

* Cox. † Marleburrough. ‡ Ibid.

of acquiring any insight into the condition of the country lies in the materials supplied by its legal records; and, perhaps, in most cases, it is the state of the law among a people that affords the least fallible means of forming a judgment respecting their moral and social condition. Viewing Ireland with the aid of such lights, at this period, we find, in the first place, abundant evidence of the declension of English power throughout the whole kingdom. The encroachments on the Pale, by the neighbouring Irish, became every day more daring and formidable; and whereas, hitherto, the English borderers could not make war or peace with the natives without leave from the government, the necessity of such special permission was now, in consequence of the greater urgency of the danger, dispensed with; and licences were granted to particular individuals to deal with "the enemy" in whatever manner or on whatsoever terms the exigence of the crisis might require. *

For the same reason, the general interdict against holding traffic or trade with the natives, or admitting them to the English markets, was at this time withdrawn; the inhabitants of the Pale being hemmed in so closely, on every side, by the people of the country, that, without such licences as now were issued to qualify the prohibition, they ran the risk of being reduced to poverty and starvation.†

Equally obvious proofs of the sobering influence of fear in obtaining for the Irish that abatement of persecution which they would have in vain sought from justice or mercy, are to be found in other acts and measures of

* The following is pretty much the general form of these licences:—"Rex, pro eo quod maneria et possessiones Cornelii Episcopi in Lymk. in frontura marchiarum inter Hibernicos inimicos et Anglicos rebelles sita sunt, concessit ei, tenentibus et serventibus suis quod ipsi cum dictis Hibernicis, &c. tractare possent," &c. — *Pat. Roll*, 10 *Hen. IV.*

† Thus, in answer to a petition from the town of Rosse, to be allowed to trade with the Irish enemy, it is said,—"Cum villa prædicta in marchiis sita et Hibernicis inimicis undique circumvallata, non habeat unde vivere valeat, nisi solomodo exemcione, &c. victualium et aliarum parvarum rerum quæ præfatis inimicis, ad evitandam erum malitiam necessario vendere oportet," &c. &c.—*Pat. Roll*, 4 *Hen. IV.*

this period; such as the increased extension of charters of denization to the natives; the permissions to persons living in the marches to take Irish tenants; and the instances of leave given to certain individuals — in despite of the statute of Kilkenny, declaring such practices treasonable — to enter into gossipred and fosterage*, and even to marry with the "Irish enemy." It is almost needless to remark, that concessions thus wrung so manifestly from fear, instead of conciliating, only added contempt to deep-rooted hate, and encouraged still further and more daring encroachments. It was accordingly in the marches, and more especially those of Meath, that lay the most frequent scenes of conflict, confusion, and bloodshed; and the English authorities were, in consequence, driven to the humiliating expedient of buying off the hostilities of the chiefs on the borders, by means of annual pensions, under the denomination of Black Rent; — a sort of compact which, being well known to proceed from terror, on one side, was sure to be violated without scruple when the motives were tempting, on the other.

While such was the wretched state of the border districts, the course of affairs within the Pale appears to have been hardly of a less lawless and violent character. In a petition from the commons of Ireland, attributed generally to the time of this monarch †, we find the law officers of the crown charged with gross abuses and acts of oppression, in consequence of which, according to the petitioners, the people were harassed and impoverished, works of husbandry neglected, and many good towns and hamlets utterly ruined. It is stated, also, that, in defiance of Magna Charta, many churchmen, lords, gentlemen, and others of the king's subjects, were cast into prison without any legal process, and

* Licences to place English children with Irish nurses begin to abound at this period. One example will be sufficient. "Rex, pro servicio, licenciam dedit Willielmo filio Henric. Betagh quod ipse Elizam filiam suam cuidam Odoni Oraylly Hibernico dare possit ad nutriendum."—*Pat. Roll, 7 Hen. IV.*

† *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, edited by sir H. Nicholas, vol. ii.

their lands seized and considered as forfeited. Nor was it only by a licentious soldiery that such open acts of spoliation were perpetrated, but by sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other ministers of the king. Among instances adduced in proof of this charge, it is stated that the lieutenant of Ireland himself received, in this lawless manner, eighty marks of the goods of the archbishop of Armagh, and took to the value of 40*l.* of the goods of the archdeacon of Kildare. Of the same high functionary it is stated, together with various other such specimens of his vice-regal conduct, that he kept sir Nicholas Alger imprisoned until he had obtained from him a missal worth ten marks, and forty marks in money. Complaint is likewise made in this petition, on the part of the commons of the county of Louth, that the king's commissioners had issued an order, contrary to law, to assess Aghy Mac Mahon, and other Irish enemies upon that county, to the great oppression and impoverishment of his liege subjects therein; that these Irish refused to accept such food as the complainants themselves used, and were dispersed with their "caifs," nurses, and children, throughout the country, spying by day and night all the woods and fortresses; from whence the greatest possible mischief might hereafter arise.

From a memorandum on the back of this petition, it appears that, in numerous letters written at that time by the earl of Ormond, it was stated that the presence of the king was greatly desired in Ireland. But the thoughts of Henry, throughout his whole reign, were far too anxiously occupied with the care of maintaining and defending his slippery hold of the English crown, to allow him to attend to the government of his Irish realm; and accordingly, though in almost every parliament during his reign, "the danger of Ireland" was remembered, not an effort appears to have been made towards either the correction of that kingdom's turbulence, or the redress of its countless wrongs. All was left to proceed in the same head-

long course of mischief which, through more than two centuries, we have now painfully tracked ; and the only result at all savouring of justice, that arose out of this chaotic state of things, was the recovery by the injured natives of a considerable portion of their own rightful territories. To such an extent, indeed, had they already won back what belonged to them, that in an address delivered by the speaker of the English house of commons, we find it openly admitted "that the greater part of the lordship of Ireland" had, at this time, been "conquered" by the natives.*

A law enacted by the parliament of the Pale, during this reign, shows that their legislation could be sometimes as capricious, as it was almost always tyrannical and unjust. Though giving to the Irishman, on his own soil, the title of "enemy," and invariably treating him as such, they were yet more proud of him, it would seem, as a victim, than afraid of him as an enemy, since, by a law passed during this reign, they deliberately rendered it difficult for a native to quit the kingdom. By an act of their parliament, in the 11th year of this reign, it was ordained that no Irish enemy should be permitted to depart from the realm, without special leave under the great seal of Ireland; and that any subject who should seize the person and goods of a native attempting to transport himself without such licence, was to receive one moiety of his goods, while the other was to be forfeited to the crown.†

* Lingard.

† Leland, who refers to MS. Trin. Coll., Dublin. — "Those whom the English refused to incorporate with, as subjects, they would yet compel to remain as rebels or slaves . . . . . We have heard of a bridge of gold for a flying enemy, but an act of parliament to compel him to stand his ground, could only have been passed by an Irish legislature." — *Memoirs of Captain Rock.*

CHAP. XL.

HENRY V.

CONTINUANCE OF WARFARE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE NATIVES. — LIEUTENANCY OF SIR JOHN TALBOT — HIS MARTIAL CIRCUIT OF THE BORDERS OF THE PALE — REDUCES TO SUBMISSION A GREAT NUMBER OF THE IRISH CHIEFS. — APPROBATION OF HIS CONDUCT BY THE LORDS OF THE PALE. — EVIL CONSEQUENCES OF HIS SUCCESS. — INTOLERANT SPIRIT OF THE ENGLISH RULERS. — IRISHMEN EXCLUDED FROM THE CHURCH OF THE ENGLISH. — THE KING SUMMONS TO HIS STANDARD IN NORMANDY A BODY OF NATIVE IRISH. — THEIR GALLANT CONDUCT. — LAWS AGAINST ABSENTEES. — THE LEINSTER CHIEF MAC MOROUGH MADE PRISONER — IS SENT TO LONDON AND COMMITTED TO THE TOWER. — IMPEACHMENT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL. — PETITION OF GRIEVANCES FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE PALE.

Of the reign we have just reviewed, a great historian* has pronounced, that it produced few events worthy of being transmitted to posterity: and if this may be said, with truth, of the records of England during that period, we cannot wonder that those of Ireland should be found so blank and valueless. But, barren as are the materials of our history, during the time of the fourth Henry, they are even more trivial and void of interest in the reign of his heroic successor, who, although he had been invested with the honours of knighthood in Ireland, having made there his first essay in arms, does not appear to have at any time afterwards turned his attention to the affairs of that kingdom.

A. D. 1413.

After the departure of sir John Stanley, who had succeeded the prior of Kilmainham in the government of Ireland, the nobility elected to the office of lord

* Hume.

deputy Thomas Cranley*, archbishop of Dublin; and, during the sitting of a parliament held by him, the Irish borderers, who always took advantage of these occasions, when the principal lords and gentry were known to be absent from their homes, made a fierce inroad into the Pale, marking their course with fire and waste. To repair the damage caused by this desperate irruption, supplies were demanded of the parliament, which that body refused to grant; and, after a session of fifteen days, was dissolved.

A succession of conflicts now ensued between the English and the Irish, in one of which, at a place called Inor, the enterprising Gascon, Janico d'Artois, met with a check; which giving encouragement to the Irish, the lord deputy found it expedient to assume the command of the troops in person. Going no farther with them than Castle Dermod, the venerable prelate remained at that place, along with his clergy, ranged in order of procession, and putting up prayers for the success of his small army. Nor did the event disappoint his hopes, as the result of the conflict, which took place at Kilkea, was victory on the side of the English.

The confidence of the natives, however, in their own strength was now daily increasing; and the English of Meath sustained, this year, a signal defeat from the chieftain O'Connor, with the loss of Thomas, baron of Skrine, slain in the conflict, and two or three other men of rank made prisoners. In consequence of this and other such failures, it was thought expedient to select a military man for the office of chief governor, and sir John Talbot, of Hallamshire, lord of Furnival†, who afterwards so nobly distinguished himself in the wars against France, was appointed lord lieutenant. Landing at Dalkey, this active officer lost no time in proceeding A. D. 1414.

* Leland, Cox, and others, have transformed this name into *Crawley*. The inscription on his monument in New College Chapel, at Oxford, ought to have taught them better: — "Flori pontificum, Thomæ Cranley, &c." — See Ware, *Bishops*.

† Lord Furnival by courtesy, through his wife, — having married the eldest daughter of sir Thomas Nevil, by Joan, the sole daughter and heiress of William, the last lord Furnival.

to accomplish the object of his mission; and, hastily collecting whatever troops he found on the spot, as none could be spared to accompany him from England, set out on a martial progress round the borders of the Pale. Beginning with O'Moore, of Ley, the viceroy invaded that chief's territory, and, in the course of two great "hostings," each a week in duration, laid waste, by burning, foraging, and all other modes of devastation, almost the whole of his lands. He also attacked and took by storm two of O'Moore's castles or strong-holds, and having released from thence several English prisoners, put to death the officers of the chief who held them in charge. Thus driven to extremity, O'Moore reluctantly sued for peace, and delivered up his son, in pledge of his faith, to the lieutenant. But still further humiliation awaited this chief;—he found himself compelled to join with his force the English banner, and assist in inflicting the same havoc and desolation on the territory of a brother chieftain, Mac Mahon. And here a similar result ensued; for, Mac Mahon, also in his turn overpowered, was compelled to follow, with his rude troops, to the attack of two other great Ulster captains, O'Connor and O'Hanlon. In this manner did the English lord pursue his course, making of each successive chief that fell into his hands a tool and scourge for the subjection of his fellows; or, as the letter describing the expedition more briefly expresses it, "causing every Irish enemy to serve upon the other."*

This showy and sweeping achievement occupied altogether about three months; and, although little more, as usual, had been gained by it than the outward form, without any of the reality, of submission, so much satisfaction did it give to the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, that, shortly after, they sent to the king, who was then in France, a certificate, in the French language, expressing their sense of the value of this great public service. It was found eventually, however, that this

* *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, edited by sir Henry Ellis, Second Series, vol. i. letter 19.

circuit of the viceroy had been productive of much more evil than good; as the soldiers, being ill paid, were compelled to have recourse to the odious exactions of coyne and livery; and more was suffered by the subjects of the Pale from the revival of this scourge, than they had gained by their slight and temporary advantage over the Irish.

On the return of the king to England, after his immortal victory at Azincourt, the Irish parliament, deeming it a moment highly favourable for such an appeal, prepared a petition to be laid before him, stating fully the wants and grievances of his subjects in that realm. Their object, however, was frustrated by a most barefaced stretch of power. Laurence Merbury, the lord chancellor, being himself, it is probable, interested in preventing too eager an inquiry into official abuses, refused to affix the great seal to the petition; and thus, in defiance of the will of the legislature, intercepted and set aside their remonstrance.* A. D. 1415.

It is not a little curious, in perusing the minutes of the king's council for this period, to find France and Ireland alternately figuring as the scenes of English warfare; but it is also melancholy to reflect, that while the rich harvest of princely dominion so gloriously reaped, at that time, in one of these fields, has long since passed away, the fruits of the mischief sown in the other still continue in fresh and baleful luxuriance. Among the minutes of the council relating to Ireland, we find it noted that the king was to be consulted respecting the increase of the number of archers and men-at-arms, for the guard of the Irish marches; and also relating to the equipment of a barge from Chester, with men-at-arms and other soldiers;—the bows and arrows to be provided by lord Furnival,

* "Quod cum in parliamento 4 Hen. V. Thomas Crawley archepisc. Dublin. electus fuit ad proficiendum in Angliam ad Regem cum cunctis mandatis scriptis statum Hiberniæ concernentem, Laur. Merbury, cancellarius, magnum sigillum eis apponere recusaverit:—cum precc quod dictus Laur. Merbury ponatur ad declarandum cur sic fecit."—*Close Roll, 1 Hen. VI.*

at his own expense. It is suggested, likewise, that cannon should be sent to Ireland for its defence.

A. D. 1417. A petition addressed, this year, to the English parliament, from the king's subjects in Ireland, exhibits, in its rawest and most unsophisticated form, that hateful spirit of monopoly and exclusion in which the government of that realm was then, and has been almost ever since, administered. The petition, after stating that Ireland was divided into two nations, the English and the Irish, the latter of whom were the king's enemies, proceeds to the chief purport of its prayer, which was, that no Irishman should in future be presented to any ecclesiastical office or benefice; and that no bishops who were of the Irish nation should, on pain of forfeiting their temporalities, collate any clerk of that nation to a benefice, or bring with them to parliaments or councils held in Ireland, any Irish servant. This notable petition, which shows how alert was then the persecuting spirit, and how much mischief it could already effect without any help from religious differences, received from the English parliament a ready assent to its insolent prayer.*

The only symptom shown by Henry during his reign, of any interest in the fortunes of that country where he had first been made a soldier, was his summoning, in the year 1417, when about to invade France for the second time, a small body of native Irish to join him in Normandy, under the command of Thomas Butler, the martial prior of Kilmainham.† The feats of valour achieved by this troop of wild warriors, at the siege of Rouen, — so much beyond what could have been expected from so small a force, — naturally led to that

* "Whereas the said land is divided between two nations, that is to say, the said petitioners, English and of the English nation, and the Irish nation, those enemies to our lord the king, who, by crafty designs, secretly, and by open destruction, making war, are continually purposed to destroy the said lieges and to conquer the land, the petitioners pray that remedy thereof be made."

† Among the payments entered in the Issue Roll of this year, is the sum of 91*l.* 17*s.*, for "the wages and rewards to masters and mariners of the town of Bristol, for embarking the prior of Kilmainham, 200 horsemen, and 300 foot, from Waterford in Ireland, to go to the king's presence in France." — *Pell Records.*

overstatement of their numbers which is found in the chroniclers of both nations. "They so did their devoir," says the English chronicler, "that none were more praised, nor did more damage to their enemies*;" and when, in the following year, the king had got possession of Pontoise, the Irishmen, according to the same authority, "overcame all the Isle of France, and did to the Frenchmen damages innumerable."

In turning, wearily, over the records of these rude times, the eye is occasionally refreshed by glimpses of a somewhat more civilised state of existence, in those grants of leave of absence accorded to particular individuals, to enable them to visit, for the purposes of study, the schools of Oxford and Cambridge. Others proceeded, with the view of learning the legal profession, to London; and here, the distaste avowed so insultingly by the English towards all connected with Ireland — a feeling extended to those of their own race born in that country — was most strongly and illiberally displayed. By a stretch of tyranny, unknown under former reigns, the Anglo-Irish law-students were now excluded from the inns of court.

The old offence, indeed, of absenteeism, had begun to be regarded in somewhat a new point of view; for whereas, formerly, those offending in this respect were blamed merely for their absence from Ireland, the offence now most strongly protested against, was their presence in England. In some enactments on the subject, during this reign, the effects of the practice are viewed in both these lights. Thus, in the year 1413, it was enacted by the king and parliament, that, "for the peace and quietness of England, and the increase and

* Hall, — who makes their number 1600. They were armed, he says, in mail, with darts and skeins, after the manner of their country; and "were appointed to keep the north side of the army, and, in especial, the way that cometh from the forest of Lyons."

The following is Monstrelet's account of this gallant band: — "The king of England had with him in his company a vast number of Irish, of whom the far greatest part went on foot. One of their feet was covered, the other was naked, without having clouts, and poorly clad. Each had a target and little javelins, with large knives of a strange fashion; and those who were mounted had no saddles; but they rode very adroitly their little mountain horses."

prosperity of Ireland, all Irishmen, Irish clerks, beggars, &c. should be removed out of England before All Saints following; with the exception of graduates in schools, serjeants and apprentices at law, &c." After a few more such exceptions to this enactment, it is added, further, that all Irishmen holding offices or benefices in Ireland, should dwell there, for the defence of the land.

In that fierce but inglorious warfare which raged incessantly between the two races, there had occurred nothing till this year deserving of any notice, since the martial circuit of the borders of the Pale, by lord Furnival. A success, however, of some importance, was achieved, at this time, by the same commander, in consequence of which Mac Morough, the captain of Leinster, had fallen into his hands; and how valuable was thought the possession of this representative of the old Lagenian kings is sufficiently manifested, by his being conveyed to London, and committed a prisoner to the Tower. Shortly after, the captain of the sept of the O'Kellys was taken prisoner by sir William de Burgh, and 500 of his followers slain.

A. D. 1419. The lord lieutenant, having been summoned to England, left his brother, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, to act as his deputy; and, in the April of the following year, James earl of Ormond, who was appointed lord lieutenant, with very extensive powers, landed at Waterford. The late viceroy, lord Furnival, had, in imitation of some of his predecessors, involved himself deeply in debts, both public and private; and a parliament summoned by the earl of Ormond, soon after his arrival, in addition to subsidies granted to the king, amounting in all to 1000 marks, made provision also for the payment of the public debts contracted by lord Furnival. In none of the proceedings relative to this lord's administration does it seem to have been sufficiently taken into account how very limited were the means placed at his disposal; — the whole of his income for the maintenance of the king's government

having amounted, it appears, to little more than two thousand six hundred pounds a-year.*

A parliament held, in the following year, at Dublin, was rendered remarkable by the solemn impeachment before it of Richard O'Hedian, archbishop of Cashel, upon thirty articles of accusation brought against him by John Gese, bishop of Lismore and Waterford. The principal of these charges were, 1. That he loved none of the English nation, and was very partial to the Irish. 2. That he gave no benefice to any Englishman, and advised other bishops to follow his example. 3. That he had counterfeited the great seal and forged the king's letters patent. 4. That he designed to make himself king of Munster. 5. That he had taken a ring from the image of St. Patrick, which had been an offering of the earl of Desmond, and made a present of it to his concubine.† A. D. 1421.

These charges, which bear upon the face of them the marks of party spirit, were never, it is supposed, prosecuted; having originated, doubtless, in envy of the munificent and popular character of this prelate, who besides his generous feeling towards the natives, so much complained of in these charges, was distinguished also for his zeal and bounty in fostering religious establishments; and, among other public services by which he is honourably remembered, restored, from a state of almost utter dilapidation and ruin, the ancient cathedral of St. Patrick at Cashel.

From the same parliament, a petition, praying for the reformation of the state of the land, was transmitted to the king‡, through the hands of the archbishop of Armagh and sir Christopher Preston; and the direct insight it affords into the abuses and malpractices then prevailing, opens so clearly to us the internal condition of the

* "HIBN. Johanni Domino de Furnyvall, locum-tenenti Hiberniæ pro salva custodia ejusdem a xxxo die Januar. anno secundo usque primum diem Augusti prox. sequen. per dimidium annum 1333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*"—See Ellis's *Original Letters*, &c.

† Ware's Bishops. — Prynne, p. 313.

‡ Close Roll, 1 Henry VI. It appears rather doubtful whether this petition is to be referred to the last year of Henry V. or the first of his successor.

Pale at that period, that — in our dearth, especially, of more lively historical materials — such a record is of no ordinary value.

This petition consists of nineteen articles, from which the following are selected, and given nearly as they stand in the original record. 1. Complaint is made of the various extortions, oppressions, non-payments, levies of coyne and livery, practised by the lieutenants and their deputies; and, also, their non-execution of the laws: — all which evils, it is added, are incurable, except by the presence of the king himself. 2. The petitioners state that all the supplies and revenues that had been granted for the purposes of warfare and the defence of the land had been hitherto applied by the king's deputies to their own private uses; and they pray that the king will retain in future, as he does at present, all such revenues in his own hands. 3. They require that there should be a coinage of money in Dublin, in the same manner as in England; and that a mint, with all necessary officers, should be there established. 4. Referring to the submission and homage made to Richard II. by certain of the Irish enemies, and the recognizances entered into by them, payable in the apostolic chamber, to keep their oaths of allegiance, the petitioners pray of the king to certify the same to the pope, in order that he may proceed to enforce strong measures against the offenders.* 5. They complain of the conduct, already noticed, of the lord chancellor Merbury, in refusing to fix the great seal to the petition of the parliament; and pray that he may be required to state his reasons for such refusal. 6. Owing to the wars and the intolerable burdens of the country, the great landholders, the artificers, and workmen, are daily emigrating, they complain, to England, in consequence whereof the land is left uncultivated and undefended: for this they pray some remedy. 7. They state that the late sir John Stanley, when holding the office of lord deputy, paid little, if any, of his debts,

* "Cum prece quod Rex Papam de præmissis certiorem faciat, ad crucidium super eos habendum."

and died enriched by acts of extortion and oppression: they therefore pray that his heirs and executors may be compelled to come into Ireland, to discharge his just debts, and make good his obligations. 8. They extol, as an example worthy of imitation, the conduct of Thomas Cranley, archbishop of Dublin, who had succeeded Stanley as lord justice, and always deported himself in that office benignly and justly. 9. Of sir John Talbot, they allege, that during the period of his government, he was guilty of numerous acts of extortion and cruelty, and paid little, if any, of his debts; and they pray that he also may be compelled to come to Ireland, to discharge his just obligations, and repair the consequences of his oppression. 10. Since the coronation of the present king, no commissioner, they complain, had been sent over to Ireland, as was usual in the times of his predecessors, to make inquiry into the conduct and measures of the lord deputy and other great officers: and they pray, therefore, that such a commission may be now sent. 11. The conduct of their present lord lieutenant, James earl of Ormond, is praised by them, and held up as an example; because, on entering into his office, he had made a declaration in parliament that he would observe the laws, would pay his just debts, and also, at the close of his administration, would assign over lands without any reserve, until all such debts should be fully and fairly discharged: and likewise because that, through him, the extortion of coyne and livery had been abolished. This earl was prepared, they add, to effect still further good, if possessed of the means, and they therefore pray of the king that such means should be supplied. 12. They complain that a number of illiterate persons were allowed to hold offices in the exchequer, performing the duties of them by deputy, and receiving from thence great incomes, owing to the excessive fees usually extorted from the suitors in that court. In many instances, two, and even three, places were held by one individual, and the duties of them all, of course, proportionably ill performed. For this they

pray the king to grant a remedy. 13. English law students, they complain, going over from Ireland, even though born in the best part of that country, were, by a late regulation, excluded from the inns of court, in England, though in all preceding periods, from the time of the conquest of Ireland, they had been admissible into those societies.

Of the remaining articles of this memorial, the seventeenth alone is of sufficient interest to be cited, wherein complaint is made, that although the statute 3 Ric. II., concerning absentee proprietors, contains an exception in favour of studious persons, it yet daily happened that Irish students, devoting their leisure to learned pursuits, in English schools and universities, were, under colour of said statute, obstructed and annoyed.* It was therefore prayed that a declaration of the real intention of this statute should be certified to the lord deputy and other officers of the Irish government.

During the last year of this reign, a succession of conflicts took place between the English and the natives, attended with the usual vicissitudes of their warfare on both sides. Some success having been gained by the Irish, in Ley, the lord justice invaded that country, encountered the chieftain O'Moore, and, as the chronicler describes the event, "defeated his terrible army in the Red Bog of Athy." † He then, for the four following days, burned and wasted the lands of the rebels, until they themselves came and sued for peace. About the same time, the chief O'Dempsy, notwithstanding his oath of allegiance, made an irruption into the Pale, and retook the castle of Ley from the earl of Kildare, to whom the lord justice had restored it. In reference

* "Quod, quamvis statutum 3 R. II. de possessionariis absentibus excepcionem continet in favorem studiosorum, tamen studiosi Hibernici, literis in scolis et universitatibus vacantes, colore dicti statuti indies vexantur."

† Campion, — who adds also a miracle to the event: — "In the Red Bog of Athy the sun almost lodged in the West, and miraculously standing still in his epicycle the space of three hours, till the feat was accomplished, and no pit in that moor annoying either horse or man, on his part), he vanquished O'Moore and his terrible army."

to this act of O'Dempsy, an old historian, extending his charge to the Irish in general, remarks, that, notwithstanding their oaths and pledges, "they are no longer true than while they feel themselves the stronger;" — an accusation to which, supposing it to be well founded, we may, with but too much truth, answer, or rather retort, that, if any excuse could be offered for such perfidy, on the part of the Irish, it was to be found in the still grosser perfidy of those with whom they had to deal.

In the mean time Mac Mahon, the chief lord of Orgiel, or Uriel *, had in like manner broken out in full career of devastation. But the indefatigable lord justice, after having disposed of the other insurgent chiefs, reduced Mac Mahon also to obedience; and thus closed this triumphant campaign, during which the clergy of Dublin went twice every week, in solemn procession, praying for the success of his arms.

* "Of Monaghan (says Ware), called in Irish, Uriel, Mac Mahon was the chief lord." But, according to Seward, Orgiel, or Uriel, comprised the present counties of Louth, Monaghan, and Armagh.

CHAP. XLI.

HENRY VI.

ALLIANCE BY MARRIAGE AND OTHER TIES BETWEEN THE TWO RACES. — ADOPTION BY THE ENGLISH OF THE LAWS AND USAGES OF THE NATIVES. — GREAT POWER OF THE ANGLO-IRISH LORDS. — THEIR FEUDS AMONG THEMSELVES. — THE EARL OF MARCH MADE LORD LIEUTENANT. — HIS DEATH. — SEVERE MEASURES AGAINST ABSENTEES. — ROMANTIC MARRIAGE OF THE EARL OF DESMOND — IS FORCIBLY DEPRIVED OF HIS EARLDOM AND ESTATES. — LARGE GRANT OF LANDS TO HIS SUCCESSOR. — ARTICLES OF ACCUSATION AGAINST THE EARL OF ORMOND. — HE IS APPOINTED LORD LIEUTENANT. — GRANTS AND PRIVILEGES BESTOWED UPON DESMOND. — RENEWAL OF THE CHARGES AGAINST ORMOND — IS CONTINUED AT THE HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT. — SAMPLE OF ANGLO-IRISH LEGISLATION. — RICHARD DUKE OF YORK APPOINTED VICEROY. — ORMOND COMMITTED TO THE TOWER OF LONDON — HIS INTENDED DUEL WITH THE PRIOR OF KILMAINHAM — THEIR DUEL PREVENTED BY THE INTERPOSITION OF THE KING. — RECOVERY BY THE NATIVES OF THEIR TERRITORIES. — CONSEQUENT REDUCTION OF THE ENGLISH POWER AND REVENUE. — WISE AND CONCILIATORY POLICY OF YORK — IS CALLED AWAY TO ENGLAND — TAKES REFUGE IN IRELAND AFTER HIS DEFEAT AT BLORE HEATH — AGAIN TAKES THE FIELD, ATTENDED BY VOLUNTEERS FROM IRELAND — IS DEFEATED AND SLAIN AT WAKEFIELD.

A. D. 1422. We have already had occasion to remark, as one of the anomalies that mark the destiny of this nation, how small is the portion of Ireland's history that relates to the affairs of the Irish people themselves. Supplanted, as they were, on their own soil, by strangers and enemies, the task of dictating as well their history as their laws fell early into foreign hands, and the people of the soil, the indigenous Irish, were only remembered, to be calumniated

and coerced. In the course of time, however, a new race and new relationships sprang up, from the connexions, by marriage and otherwise, of the English colonists and the natives, which worked a change even more in the political than in the social condition of the country. The conquerors, yielding to these natural ties, were, in their turn, conquered by the force of the national spirit, and became, as was said in later times, even more Irish than the Irish themselves. Even English gentlewomen had begun to receive, without any repugnance, the tender addresses of the "Irish enemy;" and it appears from letters patent of the reign of Henry IV., that the fierce and formidable chief, Art Mac Morough, could boast of an English heiress for his consort.*

The old laws and customs of the country were deeply, as we have seen, imbued with the primitive character of the people; and, if their law of Eric may be thought over-lenient to the crime of murder, and in so far indicating too tolerant a view of acts of violence, their customs of Gossipred and Fostering, on the other hand, evince a generous desire to enlarge the circle of the social affections, by adding to the ties of consanguinity those of long habit and mutual good services. Brought up in general by Irish nurses, and consorting from early childhood with their fosterbrethren, it was not to be expected that the sons of the middle class of the English should remain uninfluenced by examples so constantly acting upon them, and the force of which, through every succeeding generation, must have increased.

Such were, in fact, the effects that naturally began to unfold themselves among the descendants of the great English lords; and all such ancient customs of the land as tended to facilitate the never-ceasing work of plunder and massacre, were, of course, the first and the most eagerly adopted by them. In this manner, the old Irish taxes of coyne and livery, which gave a

* Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. IV.:—"Una cum hereditate Elizabethe uxoris suæ de baronia de Norragh." It is right to add, however, that, in consequence of this marriage the lady's estate was seized on, as a forfeiture, by the crown,

right to demand free quarters for the soldiery without any responsibility or restraint, and which, in a country where warfare was perpetual, could not be otherwise than a perpetual scourge, was first made a part of the military policy of the English by Maurice Fitz-Thomas, afterwards earl of Desmond.*

So soon and to such an extent were the lords of the Pale inoculated with this Irish spirit, that in the reign of Edward III., as we have seen, Nicholas Fitz-Maurice, fourth earl of Kerry, joined openly the ranks of the natives. Attempts were made, but unsuccessfully, in the course of the same reign, to dislodge this growing Anglo-Irish power. But, having taken root so early in the formation of the colony, and established the next best right of possession (though still at an immeasurable distance) to that of the natives themselves, this proud and high-spirited race succeeded in baffling all the efforts of the English government to reduce them; and, at the period we have now reached, owing to the distraction of the attention of England to other objects, had attained, in some instances, an extent of ascendency, no less prejudicial to the dignity and interests of the crown, than it was oppressive to the people subjected to their dominion.

Of these great lords, the earl of Ormond, who held the office of lord lieutenant at the time of the accession of Henry VI., was one of the most active and powerful; and a factious feud between him and the Talbots, kept alive, as it was, and diffused by a multitude of adherents on both sides, continued to disturb the public councils through a great part of this reign. Soon after Henry's accession, the office of lord lieutenant was resigned by Ormond to Edward Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, who appointed as his deputy, until he should be able to assume the government in person, Edward

* "But when the English had learned it (the extortion of Coyne and Livery), they used it with more insolency, and made it more intolerable; for this oppression was not temporary or limited either to place or time; but, because there was every where a continual war, either offensive or defensive, and every lord of a country and every marcher made war at his pleasure, it became universal and perpetual."—*Davies.*

Dantsey, bishop of Meath.* When this prelate presented to the council the letters patent of the earl conferring his appointment, strong objections were made to the sufficiency of the commission, on the ground that the letters were sealed with the earl's private seal; and Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, who was then chancellor of the kingdom, peremptorily refused, till further advised, to acknowledge the bishop as deputy. But this captious opposition, though giving a foretaste of what was to be expected from the bold and thwarting spirit of this prelate, does not appear to have been long persisted in; as, from a subsequent record, we gather, that the council agreed to acknowledge the bishop's appointment.†

Shortly after, announcement was made, by a king's letter to archbishop Talbot, that the earl of March, with a large army, was about to proceed, with all possible despatch, to Ireland‡; and, in the course of the year 1423, A. D. this prince landed on the Irish shores. But the flattering hope held out by his presence was of very brief duration. Whatever expectation might have been formed, from his nearness to the throne, that his administration would have proved both popular and efficient, such anticipations were soon at an end, as at the beginning of the following year he was seized with the plague, and died in his own castle at Trim. 1423.

This prince's successor in the administration was the illustrious warrior, lord Talbot; the same whose services in this country, some years before, had received so honourable a testimony from the lords of the Pale, and who afterwards won for himself, in the French wars, the title of the English Achilles. Not quite a year 1425.

* About three years after, a bill of indictment was found against this prelate, at Trim, for stealing a cup of the value of 13*s.* 4*d.* out of the church of Taveragh, in the diocese of Meath. After rather a complicated process, which may be found detailed in Ware (*History of the Bishops*), he was acquitted of this singular charge, for which it may be presumed there was not the slightest foundation, as, shortly after, he was again intrusted with the high office of lord deputy.

† The reason given for thus yielding, is "prout in concordia prædicta continetur."

‡ "Ad Hiberniam cum magno exercitu cum omni festinatione possibili est venturus."—*Close Roll, 2 Hen. VI.*

had the government been in the hands of this nobleman, when it again fell to the earl of Ormond ; and from that period, through the ten following years, there ensued, at intervals nearly annual, a succession of chief governors, during none of whose administrations any event much worthy of notice occurred, — with the sole exception, perhaps, of the lieutenancy of sir Thomas Stanley, in the course of which some seasonable checks were given to the
A. D. increasing incursions of the Irish borderers. Taking
1432. advantage of the distractions consequent on the king's minority, the natives had risen in considerable numbers, and were from every side encroaching on the Pale. The lord lieutenant, however, leading against them the power of Meath and Uriel, made a great slaughter of their force, and took one of their chiefs, Moyle O'Donnell, prisoner.*

The influx of the Irish into England continued, in both countries, to be a constant subject of complaint and legislation ; and, in consequence of a petition to the king, presented by the English house of commons, representing the manifold crimes, of every description, committed by the Irish in England, it was enacted, that all persons born in Ireland should quit England within a time limited ; exceptions being made in favour of beneficed clergymen, graduates in either university, persons who held lands in England, were married there, or had English parents ; and even these to give security for
1438. their future good behaviour. In the present year, likewise, during the lieutenancy of Lionel lord Wells, while a second law was passed in England, obliging Irishmen to return home, there was likewise a statute made in Ireland, to prevent the passage of any more of them into England.†

Among those powerful Anglo-Irish lords, who, by their own extortion, and the large grants of lands and liberties so recklessly lavished upon them by the crown, had been raised into so many independent counts palatine, the earl of Desmond held at this time the

* Cox. † Ibid.

most prominent station.* This lord was uncle to Thomas, the sixth earl of Desmond, whose romantic marriage and subsequent fate show how high, in those times, were the notions entertained of noble birth. Returning late one evening from hunting, the young lord, finding himself benighted, sought shelter under the roof of one of his tenants near Abbeyfeal; and seeing, for the first time, his host's daughter, the beautiful Catherine Mac Cormac, became so enamoured of her charms, that he soon after married her. So dishonouring to the high blood of the Desmonds was this alliance considered, that it drew down upon him the anger and enmity of all his family. Friends, followers, and tenants at once abandoned him; and even assisted his uncle James, according to the old Irish custom, to expel him from his estates, and force him to surrender the earldom.† Thus persecuted, the unhappy young lord retired to Rouen, in Normandy, where he died in the year 1420, and was buried in a convent of friars preachers, at Paris;—the king of England, it is added, attending his funeral.

In addition to his other princely possessions, the present earl of Desmond received, at this time, a grant from Robert Fitz-Geoffry Cogan, of all his lands in Ireland; being no less than half of what was then called the kingdom of Cork;—an estate which ought to have descended by the heirs general to the Carew and Courcy families, but which the illegal conveyance from Cogan afforded to Desmond a pretence for appropriating to himself.‡ A. D. 1439

While thus this lord and a few other Anglo-Irish nobles were extending enormously their power and wealth, the king's government was fast declining as well

* Among the services by which Desmond rose into such favour, was the activity shown by him, in the first year of this reign, when, raising an army of 5000 men, in Munster, he marched against O'Connor and Meyler Bermingham, who, with a large force, had broken into the borders of the Pale.—*Pat. Roll*, 1 *Hen. VI.*

† This forcible succession, however, does not appear to have been immediately recognised by the crown, as, in a letter to John lord Furnival, cited by Lynch (*Legal Institutions, &c.*), the new earl is merely called James of Desmond.

‡ Lodge.—Smith, *Hist. of Cork*, vol. i. book i. chap. 1.

in revenue as in influence and strength. Sir Thomas Stanley, when lord lieutenant, had brought over to England a most wretched account of the state of affairs from the privy council, wherein, entreating that the king himself would come to Ireland, they added, that his presence would be a sovereign comfort to his people, and the surest remedy for all the evils of which they
A. D. 1442. complained. So little did this state of things improve, that, a few years after, in the time of the lieutenancy of lord Wells, a parliament held in Dublin agreed to send over archbishop Talbot, to represent to the king the miserable condition of Ireland; and to state, in proof of it, that the public revenue of the kingdom fell short of the necessary expenditure by the annual sum of 1456*l.**

During a part of the period of lord Wells's lieutenancy, Ormond condescended to act as his deputy; and, during that interval, had a grant made to him of the temporalities of the see of Cashel for ten years.† Seeing reason to fear that this highly favoured and popular nobleman would be himself again selected to fill the office of chief governor, the party opposed to him, at the head of which was the intractable archbishop Talbot, resolved to defeat, if possible, an appointment so utterly
1441. adverse to all their designs. With this view, in a parliament assembled at Dublin, certain "Articles" were agreed to, and messengers appointed to convey them to the king, of which the chief object was to prevent Ormond from being made lieutenant of Ireland.‡

These articles commenced with requesting the king to "ordain a mighty lord of England" to be the lieutenant;—adding, that they, the parliament, considered it most expedient to confer that office upon an English lord, because the people would more readily "favour and obey him than any man of that land's birth;" in-

* There was in England, during this reign, a still more extraordinary decrease of the hereditary revenue of the crown, till, at last, says Lingard, it "dwindled to the paltry sum of five thousand pounds."

† After the death of archbishop O'Hedian, the see of Cashel "was for ten years vacant, and the temporalities all that time were set to farm to James Butler, earl of Ormond."—Ware, *Bishops*.

‡ Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, vol. vi.

asmuch as Englishmen "keep better justice, execute the laws, and favour more the common people, than any Irishman ever did, or is ever like to do." The articles then represent how necessary it is that the lieutenant should be an active and courageous man, such as would "keep the field and make head against the king's enemies; none of which qualities," it is added, had been "seen or found in the said earl, for both he is aged, unwieldy, and unlusty to labour, and hath lost in substance all his castles, towns, and lordships that he had in Ireland. Wherefore it is not likely that he should keep, conquer, nor get any grounds to the king, that thus hath lost his own."

To these general charges against the earl are subjoined specific instances of his maladministration and abuse of power; and, among others, it is stated, that when he before governed Ireland, he "had made Irishmen, and grooms, and pages of his household, knights of the shire*; that he had allowed peers to absent themselves from parliament on payment of large fines, which he applied to his own instead of the king's use; that he had put several persons wantonly in prison, and then made them pay large sums for their ransom." The king is reminded, in conclusion, that Ormond had been "impeached of many great treasons by the three previous lord lieutenants, which charges still remained undetermined;" and the archbishop adds, speaking in his own person, there have been also "many and divers other great things misdone by the said earl, which I may not declare because of mine order."†

Strongly enforced as were these charges, and containing much, that, with all due allowance for party ma-

* From what is known of the methods employed for packing parliaments in those days, we may easily believe that, though much exaggerated, this charge might not have been wholly without foundation. In a letter, addressed about this time by the duchess of Norfolk to some of her husband's adherents, she represents to them, how necessary it is, "that my lord should have at this time, in the parliament, such persons as belong unto him, and be of his menial servants." See, on this point, Mackintosh (*Hist. of England*, vol. ii. chap. 2.), who gets rid of the difficulty by observing, that "menial," at that period, was a word "which had scarcely any portion of its modern sense."

† Proceedings of the Privy Council.

lice, may have deserved reprehension, if not punishment, it appears from the result, that but little importance was attached to the proceeding by the English council. For, it was at the close of the year 1441, that these articles of impeachment were laid before the king, and on the A. D. 1442. 27th of February following, the earl of Ormond was appointed lieutenant of Ireland; with the peculiar privilege, too, of absenting himself from his government for many years, without incurring the penalty of the statute of Rich. II. against absentees.*

The effects of the triumph gained by Ormond over his accusers, were shared in also by his powerful friend and supporter, Desmond, on whom, already enriched and aggrandised beyond what was safe in a subject, new favours and new distinctions were now showered. It was about this time that he obtained a patent for the government and custody of the counties of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry†; and, not long after, a privilege was accorded to him, no less remarkable in itself, than for the grounds on which it was granted. Having represented to the king the necessity he was under of directing in person the affairs of these counties, and likewise the dangers to which he was exposed in travelling to parliament, through parts of the country inhabited solely by the king's enemies, he obtained permission, during his life, to absent himself from all future parliaments, sending an authorised and competent proxy in his place; and upon this licence was founded the privilege claimed by the succeeding earls of Desmond, of not entering into walled towns, nor attending any parliament, except at their pleasure.‡

In the same patent which granted this whimsical

* Prynne, 315.

† These counties had been in reality possessed by the Desmonds ever since the reign of Edward II., when, says Davies, the greatest part of the freeholders "were banished out of the counties of Kerry, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, and Desmond and his kinsmen, allies and followers, which were then more Irish than English, did enter and appropriate those lands to themselves; Desmond himself taking what scopes he liked best, for his demesnes in every county, and reserving an Irish seigniory out of the rest."

‡ Cox. — Lodge.

exemption, there was also a power given to him to purchase any lands he pleased, by whatsoever service they were holden of the crown ; —a licence intended, it was supposed, to screen his late illegal grant from Cogan, and which, by the lax notions it gave rise to, respecting titles and inheritances, tended to unsettle very much the rights and relations of property throughout the kingdom.

Meanwhile the dissension between Ormond and archbishop Talbot continued to occupy public attention, and, as a letter of the council expresses it, "to cause divisions and rumours among the king's people." To Giles Thorndon, therefore, who was then treasurer of Ireland, and less closely connected, perhaps, than most of his official brethren, with either of the two contending factions, was assigned the duty of collecting and laying before the king a correct account of the state of affairs in that realm. The articles drawn up, in obedience to this order*, by Thorndon, confirm but too strongly the painful impression, which all other existing records of those times convey, of the strife, turbulence, and unprincipled faction which then prevailed, as well among the ruling powers of the land, as throughout the whole of its divided and distracted population. Attributing the "discord, partiality, and division," which had been so long raging, not less to one of the prevailing factions than the other, he states that, in consequence of these dissensions, the spirit of party had become so violent in the king's council, and in all his courts, that "no business, whether for the royal service, or for suit of party, was allowed due process, nor execution in law, where it touched any of the said two parties." He stated, likewise, that the officers of the exchequer durst not adopt legal measures for recovering money due to the king, from the fear of being dismissed from their offices at every new change of lord lieutenant or lord justice ; and that such was also the case in all the courts of law.† A. D. 1442.

* Minutes of the Proceedings of the Privy Council, vol. v. † Ibid.

In these articles, which are of considerable length, and contain several other instances of the effects of faction and misgovernment, no particular charge is alA. D. leged against any individual, of either party. But early 1444. in the year 1444, in consequence of a difference between the two factions respecting the appointment of a deputy treasurer, a formal complaint was exhibited by Thorndon against the earl, in a bill of fifteen articles, charging him with having appropriated part of the revenue to his own purposes, and also compromised debts due to the crown. Among the instances brought in proof of this latter charge, it is stated that an English rebel, who had been guilty of slaying sir Richard Wellesley, in the field, having agreed with the council to pay forty marks for his pardon, the earl received this sum from him, appropriated it to his own use, and then granted the pardon for a fine of 6*s*. 8*d*. ; — thus "deceivably," it is added, "making the king lose forty marks."*

Another accusation brought against him in these articles was, that he had proposed a bill to the commons in two parliaments and two great councils, declaring that "whoever complained to the king of any wrong done to him in Ireland, should forfeit all his lands and goods, unless the complaint was made under the great seal, or by an act of parliament, or great council." The object of this bill, it is added, was to benefit Ormond himself, and by the following notable contrivance :—on the lands thus forfeited becoming the property of the crown, the earl would nominally grant them to some friend of his own, who would re-grant them to Ormond and his heirs ; and if, on the other hand, persons whose lands and goods were seized did not complain, the earl would be able to retain them as long as he continued lieutenant. The commons, however (adds Thorndon), knowing well the corrupt and evil intent of the lieutenant, rejected the bill, and upon the sound and constitutional grounds,

* Minutes of the Proceedings of the Privy Council, vol. v.

that "it was treason to make a statute to prevent a man from complaining to his king."*

Notwithstanding all these vehement and repeated attacks upon him, Ormond still continued lord lieutenant through the two following years, and on the 17th of July, 1446, was succeeded by John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who, in consideration of his great military services, was soon after advanced to the dignity of earl of Waterford† and baron of Dungarvan.‡ It ought not to be forgotten, as a worthy sample of the legislation of this period, that, in a parliament held by this earl, at Trim, 1447, it was enacted, that "any man who does not keep his upper lip shaved, may be treated as an Irish enemy."§ Another enactment of the same parliament was that "if an Irishman who is denizened kill or rob, he may be used as an Irish enemy, and slain on the spot."

A. D. 1446.

1447.

The practice of conferring the lieutenancy of Ireland on some personage of the royal blood, though hitherto attended with but little advantage, appears to have been still a favourite experiment; and the duke of York, the lineal heir to the crown of England, though as yet his claim had remained latent, was the personage selected for that office. This prince was nephew to the last earl of March, who died in Ireland, at the commencement of this reign, and from whom he inherited the united estates of Clarence and Ulster, together with the patrimonial possessions of the family of March. The list of his titles sufficiently shows how large was the stake he possessed in that country; as, besides being earl of Ulster and Cork, he was lord of Connaught, Clare,

1449.

* Proceedings of the Privy Council.

† The following addition to this grant presents a melancholy picture of the state of Ireland at that period: — "together with jura regalia, wreck, &c., from Youghall to Waterford, because that country is waste, *et non ad proficuum sed perditum nostrum redundat.*"

‡ This transfer from Desmond of the barony of Dungarvan, so long the inheritance of his ancestors, was, doubtless, one of the consequences of his wilful seclusion from public life. In the following reign, however, the honour of Dungarvan was restored to the Desmond family.

§ This absurd act remained unrepealed till the second year of the reign of Charles I.

Trim, and Meath, — thus including in his inheritance at least a third part of the kingdom. It was not, however, through any wish of his own that he had now been selected for the office of viceroy. On the contrary, recalled abruptly from France, where some years before he had succeeded the duke of Bedford as regent, it was most reluctantly he exchanged the prospects which that honourable field of enterprise opened, for the confined sphere of Irish warfare, and the yet more petty and inglorious strife of the rival factions of the English Pale.

Well aware that he had been removed from his command to make way for the duke of Somerset, his hereditary jealousy of the house of that nobleman, from whence alone he could fear competitorship for the crown, became from thenceforth increased; and, turning to account the slight thus thrown upon him, he resolved to secure for himself such a hold on the warm affections of the Irish as might enable him to render them subservient to the advancement of his further purposes. He also refused to accept the office on any but high and advantageous terms, which were reduced to writing by indenture between the king and himself, and besides extending the period of his lieutenancy to ten years, and allowing him, in addition to the revenue of the crown in Ireland, supplies of treasure also from England, agreed that he might let the king's lands to farm, might place and displace all officers as he chose, might levy and wage what number of soldiers he thought fit, and appoint a deputy, and return to England at his pleasure.

The duke's predecessor, the earl of Shrewsbury, had, immediately on his return to England, accused Ormond to the king of treason, in consequence of which charge, this earl was committed to the Tower, and strictly prohibited, unless with the royal permission, from going above forty miles from London, except on a pilgrimage to Canterbury. The same serious charge had been advanced against him in a tract written upon the abuses

of his government, by archbishop Talbot.* But the most fiery of Ormond's accusers on this occasion was Thomas Fitz-Thomas, prior of Kilmainham, who having likewise impeached him of treason, the earl appealed to arms, and a day was appointed to decide their quarrel by combat. In the mean time Ormond obtained permission to remove to the neighbourhood of Smithfield, "for his breathing and more ease," and likewise in order to prepare and train himself for the fight; while the warlike prior employed the interval in learning "certain points of arms" from one Philip Trehere, a fishmonger of London, whom the king paid to instruct him.† The parties met, it appears, on the ground, but were prevented from proceeding to extremities by the interposition of the king.‡ A. D. 1446.

The duke of York was not long in discovering that his Irish revenues would afford him but a scanty supply; the English power having now shrunk within such narrow limits, that, with the exception of the four counties of the Pale, and some parts of the earldom of Ulster, on the sea coast, the whole country was at this time possessed by the natives.§ While thus disappointed of the revenues counted upon from that kingdom, he found the supplies from England likewise ill paid; and how great were the straits to which he was reduced may be collected from a letter addressed by him to his brother, the earl of Salisbury, during a petty war he was engaged in with the chief Mac Geoghegan, and three or four other Irish lords.|| These chiefs,

* Entitled "De Abusu Regiminis Jacobi, Comitis Ormoniæ, dum esset Locum-tenens Hiberniæ."— See Ware's *Writers*.

† In the Issue Roll of this year, we find payments to Philip Trehere, fishmonger, "in consideration of the pains and attendance undergone by him, at the king's especial command, in instructing the prior of Kilmaynam, who lately appealed the earl of Ormond of high treason, in certain points of arms." Another item of disbursement about the same time, shows how frequently Smithfield was the scene of such conflicts. "To sir Richard Vernon, knight, for the cost of sixty men-at-arms, provided for the protection of Smithfield, during the time of the duels fought there between divers parties."

‡ Stow,—who adds, that the king interfered "at the instance of certain preachers and doctors of London."

§ Davies.

|| Holinshed. — Another letter, without date, but supposed also to belong to the times we have reached, and purporting to be addressed by

it appears, in conjunction with some English rebels, had burnt down a large town, called Rathmore,—belonging to the duke, as part of his inheritance, in Meath,—together with a number of the adjoining villages, where, it is added, they had "murdered and brent both men, women, and children, withouten mercie." After detailing these events in his letter to Salisbury, he proceeds to say, "Unless my payment be had in all haste, to have men of war in defence and safeguard of this land, my power cannot stretch to keep it in the king's obeisance; and very necessity will compel me to come into England, to live there upon my poor livelihood. I had liever be dead than any inconvenience should fall thereunto by my default; for it shall never be chronicled nor remain in scripture (by the grace of God) that Ireland was lost by my negligence. And therefore I beseech you, right worshipful, and with all my heart entirely beloved brother, that you will hold to your hands instantly, that my payment may be had at this time in eschewing all inconveniences."

The same conscientious sense of duty which breathes so strongly throughout this letter, appears to have pervaded the whole of this amiable prince's conduct, as well in France as in Ireland; and the firm but fair spirit in which, as far as we can learn, he dealt with the natives, treating them as enemies only while they resisted, and repressing without also insulting and trampling upon them, afforded an example worthy of imitation by all succeeding chief governors. In reducing Mac Geoghegan to obedience, so well had he managed to divest the transaction of all appearance of harsh or humiliating compulsion, that the simple chief himself, on returning

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some inhabitants of the city and county of Cork, to the king's council in Dublin, describes, in a truly Irish tone, the state of affairs in that county Tracing the ruin of the English interests in those parts to the dissensions of the great nobles, the letter proceeds to say, "At last these English lords fell at variance among themselves, till the Irish men were stronger than they, and drove them away, and now have the whole country under them; but that the lord Roche, the lord Courcy, and the lord Barry only remain, with the least part of their ancestors' possessions; and young Barry in there upon the king's portion, paying his grace never a penny rent."

among his sept, boasted proudly that he "had given peace to the king's lieutenant."

Equally politic was the viceroy's conduct and deportment towards those Anglo-Irish grandees, on the skilful management of whom depended mainly the peace and wellbeing of the kingdom. Having a son born in the castle of Dublin, — George, afterwards duke of Clarence, known for his short stormy life and singular death, — he chose the earls of Ormond and Desmond to be sponsors for the young prince; thus connecting himself with these two powerful lords by the tie, so sacred among the Irish, of gossipred, and thereby furnishing them with an additional motive for zeal and fidelity in his service.

A. D. 1450. But the aspect of affairs in England had now begun to foretoken events, in the ultimate issue of which the future fortunes of the house of York were most deeply involved. The formidable insurrection that had just broken out, headed by an Irishman named John Cade, proposed for its object, as some of the conspirators confessed on the scaffold, to place Richard duke of York on the throne of England; and by the court it was even imagined that this prince had secretly encouraged Cade's rebellion, in order to sound the feelings of the people, and learn how far they were likely to support him in his pretensions to the crown. Apprised speedily of this state of affairs by some of those friends he had left to watch over his interests, and who were now of opinion that he ought to appear on the scene in person, the duke, without waiting to ask permission, left his government, and landing in England, proceeded, to the great terror of the court, towards London, having collected on his way a retinue of about 4000 men.

The important affairs in which this prince was subsequently concerned fall mostly within the province of English history. But as he remained to the last connected with Ireland, and still carried with him the good wishes and sympathy of her people, a few of the more important stages of his course may not irrelevantly be

A. D. 1455. noticed. At the battle of St. Albans, the first of that series of sanguinary conflicts, which for thirty years after kept England torn and convulsed, the fortune of the day declared for York, and the king himself fell into his hands. Appointed twice Protector of the realm, on neither occasion does he appear to have availed himself of those opportunities of increasing and strengthening his own power, which the position attained by him presented, and of which a more ambitious or less conscientious person would not have hesitated to take advantage. Accordingly his conduct, through the whole of this struggle, wore that appearance of irresolution and changeableness which the honest workings of a cautious and scrupulous mind would be sure, in a crisis so trying, to present.

The dispersion of the Yorkists, after their defeat at Blore Heath, and the panic and distrust which then spread through their ranks, having rendered their cause for a time hopeless, the enterprising Warwick, who had been the soul of the late confederacy, made his way back to Calais, while the duke of York fled through Wales, with his youngest son, to Ireland, and was there received with all that enthusiasm which his cause and character had excited, not only among the people of the Pale, but even in the hearts of the poor ill-treated natives themselves.

In the course of the eight years during which he had been absent from that country, a succession of deputies had been appointed by him; among whom the most conspicuous were James V., earl of Ormond (who, before his father's death, had been created earl of Wiltshire), and Thomas earl of Kildare. By most of these governors parliaments were held, of which the enactments are still on record; but confined as was now the sphere through which the power of the government of the Pale extended, the acts of its parliament, except when illustrative of the general state of the country, are little worthy of historical notice.

By one of those anomalies not unfrequent in the re-

lations between the two countries, at the very time when the duke was resuming his duties as viceroy in Ireland, the parliament of England was employed in passing an act of attainder against him, his duchess, and their two sons. But the cause of the White Rose was now manifestly on the eve of triumph, having rallied around its banner, not merely the partisans of the House of York, but the great bulk of the English nation, who saw, in the persons and principles composing that party, the best guarantee for the preservation of their own religious and political rights. Encouraged by this sound popular feeling*, the Yorkist lords prepared for another great effort, and, notwithstanding that a strong fleet, under the duke of Exeter, was guarding the channel, Warwick ventured to cross it from Calais, to concert measures with the duke of York, who was still at Dublin, waiting the turn of events, and (as the letter of a cotemporary describes him) "strengthened with his earls and homagers." † A. D. 1460.

In the month of July, this year, was fought the decisive battle of Northampton, in which the royalists were defeated, a number of the first nobility and gentry of that party slain, and the king himself made prisoner. The duke delayed not to take advantage of this prosperous turn in the fortunes of his cause. Hastening to London, where he made his entry with trumpets sounding, an armed retinue, and a drawn sword borne before him, he presented himself to the house of peers, and, for the first time, advanced, publicly, his claim to the crown.

After grave and frequent discussions, the peers pronounced the title of York to be certain and indefeasible; but at the same time proposed, as a compromise, to satisfy the consciences of both parties, that Henry should

* A remarkable evidence of this public feeling is found in the articles of the men of Kent, first noticed, I believe, by Mr. Turner, whose unwearied researches in the rich mine of his country's records have enabled him to add largely to our materials of historical knowledge. — See *History of England during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. c. 10.

† "The duke of York is at Dublin, strengthened with his earls and homagers, as ye shall see by a bill."—Fenn's *Original Letters*, let. 46.

retain the crown for the term of his natural life, and that York and his heirs should succeed to it after Henry's death. This proposition was agreed to on both sides; and the path to the throne now seemed to lie open to him, if not already under his feet, when a desperate effort on the part of the queen, assisted by the northern barons, to assert her family's rights, in which she was aided by the northern barons, led to a battle in the neighbourhood of Wakefield, in which the duke, who had under him a force far inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, was either killed in the course of the action, or taken and beheaded on the spot. Near 3000 of his troops, with most of their leaders, fell in this hard-fought but unequal conflict, and among them were a great number of Irish, who had attended their popular viceroy into England.*

A. D. 1460.

Had this excellent prince, who was killed in the fiftieth year of his age, lived to ascend the throne, the knowledge acquired by him of the state of Ireland during his residence in that country, and the general respect entertained for his character among the inhabitants of the Pale, might have enabled him to extend his views beyond that limited circle, to spread the blessings of equal laws and good government among the natives, and adopt the best mode of inspiring them with a love of humanity and justice, by stamping the impress of those qualities upon the laws by which they were governed. As it was, so audacious and formidable had the inroads of the Irish borderers now become, that, instead of being aggressors, the proud colonists of the Pale had been reduced to the humiliating necessity of standing on the defensive; and one of the many public services rendered by the duke during his lieutenancy was the erection of castles on the borders of Louth, Meath, and Kildare, to check the incursions of the natives.

* "Which policy of his took such effect, as he drew over with him into England the flower of all the English colonies, specially of Ulster and Meath, whereof many noblemen and gentlemen were slain with him at Wakefield." — *Davies.*

Towards the great Anglo-Irish lords, the conduct of York had been at once liberal and politic, more especially in the instance of Ormond, who was a devoted adherent of the house of Lancaster; and yet between him and the earl of Kildare, a decided Yorkist, the duke divided equally his confidence, leaving the sword of office at one time with the earl of Ormond, at another, with Kildare; and, when he fell in battle at Wakefield, there were slain under his banner several members of both these noble families.

CHAP. XLII.

EDWARD IV.

REDUCED STATE OF THE ENGLISH POWER.—PREDATORY INROADS OF THE NATIVES—BLACK RENT PAID TO THE CHIEFS.—THE GERALDINES HIGH IN FAVOUR.—LAVISH GRANTS TO THE EARL OF DESMOND—HIS MUNIFICENT SPIRIT—IS SUCCEEDED IN THE GOVERNMENT BY TIPTOFT, EARL OF WORCESTER.—THIS LORD'S HOSTILITY TO DESMOND—BRINGS CHARGES AGAINST HIM OF HIGH TREASON.—DESMOND ARRESTED AND BEHEADED.—ACT OF ATTAINDER AGAINST THE GERALDINES.—EARL OF KILDARE RESTORED BY THE KING AND MADE LORD DEPUTY.—INSTITUTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF ST. GEORGE.—THE HOUSE OF ORMOND AGAIN IN FAVOUR.—KILDARE REMOVED FROM THE GOVERNMENT—HIS FAMILY REGAIN THEIR ASCENDENCY.—GERALD, THE EIGHTH EARL, APPOINTED LORD DEPUTY.—MARRIAGE OF HIS SISTER WITH CON O'NEILL.—DECLINE OF THE IRISH REVENUE.

A.D. 1460. So small was the portion of the inhabitants of Ireland by whom the authority of English law was now acknowledged, that, from the four small shires alone which constituted the territory of the Pale * were all the lords, knights, and burgesses that composed its parliament summoned; and in no other part of the kingdom but those four shires did the king's writ run. Nor, even

* The designation of the English territory by the name of "the Pale," does not appear to have come into use before the beginning of this century, and the term is, in general, supposed to have been confined to the four counties of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, and Meath,—the latter including also West Meath. But, however reduced were the English limits at the period we have now reached, the Pale originally, it is clear, extended from the town of Wicklow in the south, to the point of Dunluce in the north of Ireland;—thus making Louth (as it was not unfrequently styled) the "heart" of the Pale. See Spenser (*View of the State of Ireland*), who describes the Pale as having once included Carrickfergus, Belfast, Armagh, and Carlingford, "which are now (he adds) the most outbounds and abandoned places in the English Pale, and indeed not counted of the English Pale at all; for it stretcheth now no further than Dundalk towards the north."

there, was the English law allowed to come fairly into operation, as, on the borders and marches, which had at this time so much extended as to include within them half Dublin, half Meath, and a third part of Kildare, no law was in force but that which had been long since forbidden by the statute of Kilkenny, as "a lewd custom," under the denomination of March Law.

So much had the just and generous character of York's policy endeared him personally to the lords and gentry of the Pale, that, as we have seen, numbers of them accompanied him, on his last expedition into England; and the natives, availing themselves of the absence of these great landed lords, — as they had done once before, in the reign of Richard II., — took forcible posession of several estates, which were never after recovered from them. It was, doubtless, in reference to some such depredations, committed, in the course of this year, on the duke's Irish adherents, that one of the charges brought against the late king was his having written, at the instigation of divers lords about him, secret letters to some of the "Irish enemy," inciting them to attempt the conquest of the land of Ireland.*

But the fierce septs surrounding the Pale were sufficiently ready, without any such extraneous encouragement, to take advantage of the general confusion and distraction to which the contest for the English crown had given rise; and the wretched inhabitants of the districts bordering upon the Irish were forced to purchase a precarious exemption from their inroads by annual pensions to their chiefs. There is still on record a list

* Stow. — "*Item:* Where the king hath now no more livelode of his realm of England, but onely the land of Ireland and the towr of Caleis, and that no king christened hath such a land and a town without his realm, divers lords have caused his highness to write letters, under his privy seal, unto his Irish enemies, which never king of England did heretofore, whereby they may have comfort to enter into the conquest of the said land, which letters the same Irish enemies sent unto me, the said duke of York, and marvelled greatly that any such letters should be to them sent, speaking therein great shame and villainy of the said realme."— *Articles sent from the Duke of York to the Earls, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Commons.*

of these disgraceful contributions, in which are given, together with the amount of the several pensions, the names of the chieftains who received them, and of the counties by which they were paid.*

Such was the miserable state of weakness, disorganisation, and turbulence, in which Edward IV. found his kingdom of Ireland on his accession to the throne. A. D. 1461, 1462. At the time of that event, the office of lord justice was held by Thomas earl of Kildare; but, on the duke of Clarence, the king's brother†, being appointed lieutenant for life, sir Rowland Fitz-Eustace, afterwards lord Portlester, was sent over as that prince's deputy. We have seen that the Butlers and the Geraldines — under which latter title were comprised the two noble families of Desmond and Kildare — had, in the true spirit of hereditary rivalry, fought on opposite sides in the great struggle between the two rival Roses. Among the most distinguished victims to the late triumph of the Yorkists, was James earl of Ormond, who, having been made prisoner in the bloody battle of Towton, was, in a few weeks after, beheaded; and, throughout a great part of Edward's reign, all belonging to the family of Ormond remained in disgrace. It was not among the least, indeed, of the fatalities of this ill-starred land, that the two most powerful of her native families, instead of combining their strength and influence to promote her peace and welfare, should thus but have added the hateful consequences of their own endless feud to all the other countless evils of which their country had been made the victim.

At present, the fortunes of the Geraldines were, of course, in the ascendant, — though destined, ere long, to undergo a disastrous eclipse. In the year 1463, the

* Cox.—The annual sum paid to each chief was of course proportioned to his means and opportunities of doing mischief. The following items will give some notion of the whole list. "The barony of Lecale, to O'Neill of Clandeboy, per ann., 20 lib.—The county of Uriel, to O'Neill, per ann., 40 lib.—The county of Meath, to O'Connor, per ann., 60 lib. The county of Kildare, to O'Connor, per ann., 20 lib." &c. &c.

† Spenser confounds strangely this duke of Clarence with the prince Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., who married the earl of Ulster's daughter.

earl of Desmond succeeded lord Portlester, as deputy of the duke of Clarence; and held two parliaments in the course of his government, one at Wexford and another at Trim, which latter passed, among other measures, the following significant enactments: — "That anybody may kill thieves or robbers, or any person going to rob or steal, having no faithful men of good name and in English apparel in their company." — "That the Irish within the Pale shall wear English habit, take English names, and swear allegiance, upon pain of forfeiture of goods."* A. D. 1463.

By the same parliament a statute was passed, granting to Desmond the custody and defence of the castles and towns of Carlow, Ross, Dunbar's Island, and Dungarvan †, which last named barony had before been granted to the earl of Shrewsbury, but, owing to his negligence, as the statute implies, was brought once more under the authority of the Desmond family. To this favour succeeded another, in the following year, when the king granted, by letters patent, to Desmond, a large annuity chargeable on the principal seignories belonging to the crown within the Pale.‡ In the same year, this earl founded the noble establishment called the College of Youghall §, endowing it with several benefices and a considerable landed estate, which formed, in later times, a part of the immense possessions of the first earl of Cork. Shortly after, too, at the instance of this spirited nobleman, a parliament convened by him at Drogheda, founded a university in that town, with privileges similar to those enjoyed by the university of Oxford.‖ 1464.

* Another of the enactments was, "That English, and Irish speaking English and living with the English, shall have an English bow and arrows, on pain of twopence."

† Stat. Roll, Chan. Dub. 3. Ed. IV.,—cited by Lynch, *Legislative Institutions.*

‡ Chief Rememb. Roll, Dub. 13, 14 Eliz.,—referred to by Lynch, *ibid.*

§ This foundation was confirmed by his son James, anno 1472, and by Maurice, his brother, in 1496. In the charter of foundation the patron is styled earl of Desmond, lord of Decies, lord of Imokilly, lord of the regalities and liberties of the county of Kerry, and patron of this institution. — Smith, *Hist. of Cork*, book i. chap. iii.

‖ Pat. Roll, 5 Ed. IV.— "This university not being endowed with sufficient revenues, the scheme did not take effect." — Mason, *Hist. of St. Patrick's Cathedral.*

Thus distinguished, as well by the royal favour, as by that influence and popularity among the natives which his Irish birth and munificent spirit were sure to win for him, the good fortune of this powerful
A. D. lord might seem secure from all reverse. But the very
467. prosperity of his lot formed also its peril; and the designs of his enemies, which had been held in check as long as he continued to be lord deputy, were resumed with fresh vigour and venom on the arrival of his successor, the celebrated lord Worcester, who, in addition to the natural cruelty of his character*, came strongly prepossessed, it is supposed, with the suspicions and jealousies then commonly entertained towards the great Anglo-Irish lords.† It was, indeed, natural, as we have before had occasion to remark, that the high official personages sent over from England should regard with jealousy the dominion exercised by those lords of Irish birth, whose hold on the hearts of their fellow-countrymen lent them a power such as mere official rank could never attain. In the instance of Desmond, too, this suspicious or envious feeling found more than ordinary ground for its workings; — the rare combination, in this lord's position, of immense wealth, royal patronage, and popular favour, having justified in many respects the epithet bestowed upon him of the "great" earl of Desmond.

In order to account for the ease and despatch with which so towering a structure of station was laid low, it has been said that he had provoked the vengeance of the queen by advising Edward not to marry her‡; a secret disclosed, it is added, in the course of some slight alter-

* For frightful proofs of the truth of this charge against him, see Stow, p. 422.

† For Worcester's severity, in the instance of Desmond, another motive has been suggested: — "Lord Tiptoft was interested in the lordships of Inchiquin, Youghall, and other extensive estates which lay within, or were now considered as part of, the seignories, of the Desmond family; and which, while their power and influence prevailed with the natives, his lordship, like his ancestors, could derive no benefit from." — Lynch (*Legislative Institutions*), who refers to Chief Rememb. Roll, Dub. 7 Ric. II. & 43 Ed. III.

‡ "He despised the king's marriage with so mean a subject as the lady Elizabeth Grey, and often said she was a tailor's widow." — *Cox*.

cation between her and the king, by his saying pettishly that "had he taken cousin Desmond's advice, her spirit would have been more humble." It is also stated that the queen, to make sure of her revenge, obtained by stealth the privy seal, and affixed it herself to the order for his execution. But these stories rest on mere idle rumour; and it appears clearly, even from the scanty evidence extant on the subject, that by no other crimes than those of being too Irish and too popular, did Desmond draw upon himself the persecution of which he so rapidly fell the victim.

We have seen that, by the memorable statute of Kilkenny, the customs of gossipred and fostering, together with the intermarriages of the English among the Irish, were declared to be high treason. On this statute the accusations now brought against Desmond were founded; the charge of "alliance with the Irish" being made an additional and prominent article in the impeachment, though, for a length of time, so much had the law relaxed its rigour with regard to this offence, that it was not unusual, as we have seen, to grant licences to the English, on the borders, empowering them to treat, traffic, and form alliances with the natives. In the south, where this earl's estates lay, the laws against intercourse or alliance with the Irish had long fallen into disuse; and it was chiefly the connections formed by this family with some of the leading Irish chiefs that had hitherto enabled the successive earls of Desmond to uphold the king's authority in the greater part of Munster.

By none, however, of these considerations were the bitter enemies of the Geraldine race induced to forego their stern and factious purpose; and one of the most rancorous of the earl's foes was William Sherwood, bishop of Meath, by whose instigation it appears, at the time when Desmond was deputy, nine of this lord's men had been slain in Fingall. In a parliament held at Drogheda by the earl of Worcester, it was enacted that Thomas earl of Desmond, as well for alliances, fostering, A. D. 1467.

and alterage with the king's enemies, as for furnishing them with horses, harness, and arms, and also supporting them against the king's subjects, be attainted of treason; and that whoever hath any of his goods or lands, and doth not discover them to the deputy within fourteen days, shall be attainted of felony. Unprepared, as it would seem, for so rigorous a measure, Desmond was arrested by order of the lord deputy, and, on the 5th day of February, was beheaded at Drogheda.

A. D. 1468. At the same time with this ill-fated lord, the earl of Kildare and Edward Plunket had also been attainted. But as soon as Worcester, having thus accomplished what is supposed to have been the main object of his mission, returned into England, the earl of Kildare was not only pardoned and restored in blood by parliament, but also appointed to the government of Ireland as deputy of the duke of Clarence. It was during this lord's administration that, in consequence of a doubt having arisen whether the act of 6 Richard II., "de Raptoribus," was of force in Ireland, it was declared, in a parliament held at Drogheda, that not only the statute in question, but all other English statutes made before that time, were binding in Ireland.*

With a view to the better defence of the English territory, it was enacted, in a subsequent parliament, held 1472. at Naas, that "every merchant should bring twenty shillings' worth of bows and arrows into Ireland, for every twenty pounds' worth of other goods he imported from England."† It having been found, however, that in the present reduced state of the English colony, some measures of a more than ordinary cast were called for, in order to recruit and support the spirit of their small community, a fraternity of arms, under the title of the Brothers of St. George, was at this time constituted, consisting of thirteen persons, of the highest rank and most approved loyalty, selected from the four cantons of Dub-

* See sir John Maynard's "Answer to a Book," &c. — *Hibernic.* p. 96.
† Cox.

lin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth. To the captain of this military brotherhood, who was to be elected annually, on St. George's day, was assigned a guard of 120 archers on horseback, 40 other horsemen, and 40 pages; and of these 200 men, consisted the whole of the standing forces then maintained by the English government in Ireland.*

Had the natives but known their own strength, or rather, had they been capable of that spirit of union and concert by which alone the strength of a people is rendered effective, the whole military force of the Pale could not have stood before them a single hour. But divided, as the native Irish were, into septs, each calling itself a "nation," and all more suspicious and jealous of each other than of the common foe, it was hardly possible that, among a people so circumstanced, a public spirit could arise, or that any prospect, however promising, of victory over their masters, could make them relinquish for it the old hereditary habit of discord among themselves. That their English rulers, though now so much weakened, did not the less confidently pre- A. D. 1475. sume on their victim's patience under injustice, may be inferred from a law passed at this time, in a parliament held by William Sherwood, bishop of Meath, enacting that, "any Englishman, injured by a native not amenable to law, might reprise himself on the whole sept and nation."

The adherence of the Ormond family to the fortunes of Henry VI. had drawn down upon John, the sixth earl, the penalty of attainder, and consigned, during the early part of this reign, all the other members of that noble house to obscurity and disgrace. By a statute, 1476. however, made in the sixteenth year of Edward IV., the act of attainder against John earl of Ormond was repealed, and that lord restored to his "lands, name, and dignity, as by title of his ancestors." So successful

* Davies,—who adds, "And as they were natives of the kingdom, so the kingdom itself did pay their wages, without expecting any treasure from England."

was he, too, in recommending himself to Edward, by his knowledge of languages and other courtly accomplishments, that the king pronounced him to be the "goodliest knight he had ever beheld, and the finest gentleman in Europe;" adding that, "if good breeding, nurture, and liberal qualities were lost in the world, they might all be found in John earl of Ormond."*

Encouraged by the favour thus shown to the head of their house, the faction of the Butlers again appeared with refreshed force, while, for a time, the Geraldines sunk into disfavour. It was not long, however, before the influence of the house of Kildare regained all its former ascendency. In 1478, the same year in which the earl Thomas died, his son Gerald, who succeeded him, was appointed lord deputy of Ireland, and held that office, at different intervals, through the three following reigns. In one of the parliaments held by him at this period, it was enacted, that "the Pale should hold no correspondence with the Irish;" while, at the same time, his own family was affording examples of the fated and natural tendency of the two races to come together, in the marriage of his sister to the head of the great northern sept of the O'Neills.† It was, indeed, in the same parliament that forbade so peremptorily all communication with the Irish, that the special act was passed for the naturalisation of Con O'Neill, on the occasion of his marriage with one of the lord deputy's sisters. ‡

A. D. 1478.

1480.

* Carte's Ormond, *Introduct.* This earl, who was unmarried and left no issue, undertook, from pious motives, a journey to Jerusalem, and died in the Holy Land.

† The sept, or nation, of the O'Neills of Ulster, was one of the five bloods, or lineages, of the Irish, who were by special grace enfranchised, and enabled to share in the benefits of English law.—See the case cited by Davies, where the plaintiff pleads, "quod ipse est de quinque sanguinibus." The four other "bloods" thus privileged, were the O'Melaghlins of Meath, the O'Connors of Connaught, the O'Brians of Thomond, and the Mac Moroughs of Leinster. From the above instance, however, of Kildare's son-in-law, it would appear that this general grant of naturalisation was not always deemed sufficient.

‡ The eldest daughter of the late earl, Elenor, was married to Henry Mac Owen O'Neill, chief of his name, by whom she was mother of Con (More) O'Neill, who married her niece, daughter to Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare. — *Lodge.*

On the death of the ill-fated duke of Clarence, the office of lieutenant of Ireland was conferred by Edward upon his second son, Richard duke of York; and it was as deputy of this infant prince that the earl of Kildare now held the reins of the government. To so low an ebb, however, was the Irish revenue at this time reduced, that a force of 80 archers on horseback, and 40 of another description of horsemen, called "spears," constituted the whole of the military establishment that could be afforded for that realm's defence: and lest the sum even of 600*l.*, annually, required for the maintenance of this small troop, might prove too onerous to the country, it was provided that, should Ireland be unable to pay it, the sum was to be sent thither from England.* A. D. 1478 to 1483.

* Cox.

CHAP. XLIII.

EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III.

THE GERALDINES STILL IN AUTHORITY. — PARLIAMENTS HELD AT DUBLIN. — ENACTMENT OF ONE OF THESE PARLIAMENTS. — REIGN OF RICHARD III. TERMINATED BY THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH.

A. D. 1483. DURING the nominal reign of the fifth Edward, and the short usurpation of Richard III., the condition of Ireland remained unimproved and unchanged. Throughout this brief and bloody period, the power of the Pale was almost entirely in the hands of the Geraldines,—the earl of Kildare performing the functions of lord deputy, while his brother, sir Thomas of Laccagh, was lord chancellor of the kingdom. In a parliament held at Dublin, by the earl of Kildare, an act was passed which, for its unusually peaceful purport, may deserve to be remembered. It was enacted, "that the mayor and bailiffs of Waterford might go in pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella in Spain, leaving sufficient deputies to govern that city in their absence." By another act of this parliament, the corporation and men of the town of Ross were authorised to "reprise themselves against robbers." * Such are the only incidents worthy of any notice that occur in our scanty records of this reign, which was brought to a close, by the battle of Bosworth, on the 22d of August, 1485.

1485.

* "In other words," says sir William Betham, "might rob the innocent to indemnify themselves for having been previously plundered." — See *Origin and History of the Early Parliaments of Ireland*, — the latest and not least valuable of this indefatigable antiquarian's labours.

CHAP. XLIV.

HENRY VII.

POLICY OF HENRY RESPECTING HIS CLAIMS TO THE CROWN. — STRENGTH OF THE YORK PARTY IN IRELAND. — KILDARE SUSPECTED BY THE KING. — HENRY'S CRUELTY TOWARDS THE YOUNG EARL OF WARWICK. — THIS CONDUCT THE SOURCE OF ALL THE SUBSEQUENT PLOTS. — ARRIVAL OF SIMNEL IN DUBLIN. — GENERAL ADOPTION OF HIS CAUSE IN IRELAND — IS PROCLAIMED KING. — MOVEMENT IN HIS FAVOUR BY THE ENGLISH LORDS, LINCOLN AND LOVELL — THEIR ARRIVAL IN DUBLIN WITH A BODY OF GERMAN AUXILIARIES. — HENRY ENDEAVOURS TO REMOVE THE DELUSION — IS SUCCESSFUL IN ENGLAND, BUT FAILS IN IRELAND. — INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE FORCES OF THE PALE — ARE ENTIRELY DEFEATED BY THE KING'S ARMY AT STOKE. — SIMNEL MADE PRISONER, AND TRANSFERRED TO THE ROYAL KITCHEN. — THE KING REWARDS THE LOYALTY OF WATERFORD — CONSENTS TO PARDON KILDARE AND THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN. — OPPORTUNITY LOST OF CURBING THE POWER OF THE ANGLO-IRISH LORDS. — PROCEEDINGS OF EDGECOMB'S COMMISSION. — HENRY SUMMONS THE GREAT LORDS OF THE PALE TO GREENWICH. — MURDER OF THE NINTH EARL OF DESMOND. — WARS OF HIS SUCCESSOR WITH THE IRISH. — APPEARANCE OF ANOTHER IMPOSTOR, PERKIN WARBECK — PRETENDS TO BE RICHARD DUKE OF YORK. — THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY THE CONTRIVER OF THIS PLOT. — THE KING OF FRANCE INVITES WARBECK TO HIS COURT — FROM THENCE HE PROCEEDS TO FLANDERS — IS RECEIVED BY THE DUCHESS AS HER NEPHEW. — THE EARL OF KILDARE IN DISGRACE. — SIR EDWARD POYNINGS MADE LORD DEPUTY. — EXPEDITION OF POYNINGS INTO ULSTER. — KILDARE SUSPECTED OF CONSPIRING WITH THE IRISH ENEMY. — POYNINGS SUMMONS A PARLIAMENT — MEMORABLE STATUTE WHICH BEARS HIS NAME. — OTHER ENACTMENTS OF THIS PARLIAMENT. — WARBECK REPAIRS TO THE COURT OF SCOTLAND — IS RECEIVED WITH ROYAL HONOURS — MARRIES THE DAUGHTER OF THE EARL OF HUNTLEY. — VISIT OF O'DONNELL TO THE SCOTTISH COURT. — THE EARL OF KILDARE ARRESTED, AND SENT PRISONER TO ENGLAND — SUCCEEDS IN REFUTING THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM — IS MADE LORD LIEUTENANT. — WARBECK AGAIN TRIES HIS FORTUNE IN IRELAND —

IS JOINED BY THE EARL OF DESMOND. — THEIR UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION AGAINST WATERFORD. — WARBECK FLIES TO CORNWALL — IS EXECUTED FOR TREASON AT TYBURN. — WARFARE AMONG THE IRISH. — MILITARY SUCCESS OF KILDARE. — CONFEDERACY AMONG THE GREAT CHIEFS. — BATTLE OF KNOCTUADH. — SIGNAL DEFEAT OF THE IRISH.

One of the most serious of the many evils attending that fierce hereditary feud, so long maintained between the two families from which England was, in those times, furnished with rulers, was, that it rendered each successive monarch little more than the crowned chief of a particular faction,— ruling as the champion rather of a portion of his people, than as the acknowledged and paternal sovereign of all. On the accession, however, of Henry VII., the prospects of the country were, in this respect, much improved; that prince having been furnished, by a train of circumstances, with so many and such plausible titles to the crown, as enabled him to trust to their collective weight without risking the enforcement of them in detail, or arousing unnecessarily the spirit of party, by putting forth claims whose strength and safety lay in their silence.

Thus, his marriage with a princess of the house of York, if assumed as the foundation of his right to the crown, would have been viewed with jealousy by his own Lancastrian followers; while, on the other hand, the pretensions founded by him upon his descent from John of Gaunt would have offended the proud, and now mortified, Yorkists; and the only remaining ground left, that of the right of conquest, could not but awaken, he knew, the unwelcome recollection, that it was over Englishmen the boasted conquest had been obtained.* With a forbearance, therefore, in which coolness of temper had at least as much share as good sense, he refrained from advancing, more than was absolutely necessary, any distinct claim to the succes-

* This ground of his claim was just intimated by him, in his first speech to the commons, but, almost in the same breath, skilfully softened away. — See Lingard, chap. 26.

sion ; and leaving his rights, such as they were, to their own silent influence, was content, in the entail of the crown, with the vague declaration that " the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king."

This moderate policy may, with the less hesitation, be ascribed to cautious and calculating motives, inasmuch as the enmity of the king to the Yorkists continued to be as strong and revengeful as ever. That he was capable, however, of sacrificing this feeling to views of prudence and expediency, appears sufficiently from his conduct towards Ireland. For though, on his accession, he found, in that kingdom, all the great offices filled by partisans of the house of York, he yet not only confirmed all these Yorkists in their several stations, but, by a stretch of confidence and delicacy of which he afterwards felt the imprudence, forbore from adding any of the Lancastrian party to the council, lest he might be supposed to distrust the loyalty of the Irish government, or regard any of its members with insulting suspicion or fear.*

While Henry, thus shaping his course to the state of affairs in Ireland, took pains to conciliate the favour of the party then most powerful, neither was he forgetful of the few who had always been staunch to his family's cause ; and among these stood pre-eminent the noble family of Ormond. Thomas Butler, the seventh earl, declared a traitor in the first year of Edward IV., was now, by an act of the Irish parliament, restored to " honour and estate," and became distinguished for public services, both military and diplomatic.† A. D. 1485.

* Ware's *Annals.*

† *History of the Life of Ormond.* — " The attainder of 1 Edward IV. being reversed, Thomas earl of Ormonde took possession of all the estate which his eldest brother had enjoyed in England ; and was made by Henry VII. one of the privy council of England. He was one of the richest subjects in the king's dominions, having, after his brother James's death, found in his house, at the Black Friars in London, about 40,000*l.* sterling in money, besides plate, all which he carried over with him into Ireland." —*Carte, Introduct.*

But the growing strength of the York faction in Ireland began now seriously to arrest the monarch's attention. The popular government of the duke of York was still fondly remembered in that country, and the cause of the family to which their favourite prince belonged had been espoused with the utmost ardour by the great bulk of the English settlers. The implied sanction, therefore, lately given to the ascendency of their party by the king, was hailed at the time with a warmth of joy and gratitude, which but fostered, as it proved, the seeds of future presumption and excess.

A. D. 486. Having already had reason to suspect that Kildare was planning some mischief, the king wrote to him, to command his presence immediately in England, assigning as a pretext for this urgency, that he wished to advise with him concerning the peace of his Irish realm. But the earl, suspecting, doubtless, the real intent of this order, submitted the case to the parliament then assembled in Dublin, and procured letters to the king from the spiritual and temporal peers, representing that affairs requiring the lord deputy's presence were about to be discussed in parliament, and praying that, for a short time, he might be excused from obeying the royal command. Among the names of the clergy who subscribed these letters, is found that of Octavian de Palatio, archbishop of Armagh; a prelate, whose subsequent conduct removes the suspicion of his having been actuated in this step by party feelings. The secular subscribers to the letters were Robert Preston, viscount Gormanstown, and the six most ancient of our barons, Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Trimleston, and Dunsany.*

It might not unreasonably have been expected by Henry, that the favourable circumstances under which he had commenced his reign, and more especially the reconcilement of the two rival houses, which seemed to have been accomplished by his marriage, would assure to

* Ware's *Annals.*

him an easy and uncontested career. But the events and prospects now gradually unfolding themselves must have disabused him of any such flattering hope; and the chief source of much of the odium now gathering round him, as well as of those plots by which his throne was afterwards threatened, may be found in the impression produced, at the outset of his reign, by the odious harshness of his conduct towards the young Edward Plantagenet, son of the late duke of Clarence.

This prince, whom Edward IV. had created earl of Warwick, — the title borne by his grandfather, — had been treated at first, by Richard III., as heir apparent to the crown; but afterwards, fearing to find in him a rival, he kept the young prince a close prisoner in the castle of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire. This youth, at the time of Henry's accession, had just reached his fifteenth year; and so selfishly blind was the new monarch to every other consideration but that of seizing the prize which victory had allotted to him, that, although the contingency of this youth's right to the crown was still so remote as not to be calculated on while any of the posterity of Edward IV. remained alive, he had him removed from his prison in Yorkshire to the Tower, there to pine in hopeless captivity, and with the fate of his murdered cousins for ever before his eyes.

While thus the story of this young prince was so much calculated to awaken pity for himself, and indignation against his oppressor, the great importance attached by Henry to his safe custody could not but render him an object of interest and speculation to the disaffected. What the king regarded with fear, the rebel would as naturally look to with hope; nor is it to be wondered at, that to persons in search of some tolerable frame-work for a conspiracy, a device connected with this youth's fate should, for want of a better, have suggested itself.

The birth of a son, at this time, to the king, by diminishing the chance of a change in the succession,

but furnished the conspirators with a new motive for activity; and, in order to profit by the strong feeling in favour of the Yorkists, that prevailed in Ireland, Dublin was the place selected for the opening of this strange plot.* Early in the year 1486, there landed in that city a priest of Oxford, named Richard Simons, attended by his ward, Lambert Simnel, a boy of about eleven years of age†, the son of an Oxford tradesman. This youth he presented to the lord deputy, and the other lords of the council, as Edward earl of Warwick, son to George duke of Clarence.

To attempt to personate a living prince, so near at hand as to be easily confronted with the impostor, was a contrivance, it must be owned, as daring and difficult as it was clumsy. Nothing appears, however, to have been wanting, that careful rehearsal and consummate acting could accomplish, to render the scheme consistent and plausible. The youth himself, who, we are told, was handsome and of noble demeanour‡, well became the lofty station which he assumed; and, having been tutored well in his story, gave such an account of his past adventures, as coincided with all that his hearers had known or learned on the subject themselves. The scheme was instantly and completely successful. The earl of Kildare, far less from credulity, it is clear, than from the bias of party spirit, gave in at once, and without any reserve, to the fraud; and his example was immediately followed by almost the whole of the people of the Pale, who, admitting at once, without further inquiry, the young pretender's title, proclaimed him by the style of Edward VI., king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

Amidst this general defection, the citizens of Waterford remained still firm in their allegiance to Henry;

* Remarking that the king had been "a little improvident in the matter of Ireland," lord Bacon adds, "since he knew the strong bent of that country towards the house of York, and that it was a ticklish and unsettled state, more easy to receive distempers and mutations than England was."

† Lingard. — According to some authorities, fifteen years of age.

‡ "He was," says Bacon, "a comely youth and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect."

the family of the Butlers, pledged hereditarily to the house of York, continued likewise faithful; while almost the only ecclesiastics who refused to bow before the impostor, were the foreign archbishop of Armagh, Octavian de Palatio*, and the bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory.

NEWINGTON

Though, ostensibly, Simons the priest was the only person engaged in the scheme of palming Simnel on the Irish as Warwick, it seems generally to be supposed that this plot, as well as all others during this reign, had originated at the court of the duchess of Burgundy, third sister of Edward IV., — "the chief end of whose life," we are told, "was to see the majesty royal of England once more replaced in her house."† No sooner was it known in England that the Irish had declared in favour of the pretended Warwick, than the nephew of this princess, the earl of Lincoln ‡, who was then in attendance on Henry, and had received marks of his confidence, took suddenly his departure, and repaired to the court of his aunt, whither lord Lovell also had lately betaken himself, after a short and feeble attempt at insurrection. The object of this suspicious movement did not long remain a mystery. It appeared that Lincoln had gone to consult with the duchess of Burgundy and lord Lovell as to the most prompt and efficient mode of assisting the cause of the young pretender§; and the fruit of their counsels was seen in the landing of a force of 2000 German troops at Dublin, under the command of a veteran officer, Martin Swartz, and accompanied by the two English earls, Lincoln and Lovell. ||

Meanwhile, with the hope of correcting the dangerous impression already produced by the impostor, the

* In a letter written by this prelate to pope Innocent VIII., he thus describes the effects of the fraud: "The clergy and secular are all distracted at this present with a king and no king,— some saying he is the son of Edward earl of Warwick, others saying he is an impostor. But our brother of Canterbury hath satisfied me of the truth."

† Bacon.

‡ This nobleman, who was the nephew of Richard III., had been declared, by that monarch, heir apparent to the crown.

§ Hall's *Chronicle*.

|| Bacon. Ware. Hall.

king gave orders that the real earl of Warwick should be conducted, in the sight of all London, from the Tower to St. Paul's. He also took this prince along with him to the palace of Shene, where noblemen, attached to the York family, and well acquainted with his person, daily visited and conversed with him. This open trial of the question satisfied the people of England; but the Irish, remote from such means of inquiry, and embarked too heartily in the general cause to be at all particular as to its grounds, not only persisted in their adherence to Simnel, but retorted on Henry the charge of imposture, maintaining *his* Warwick to be the counterfeit, and their "lad," as they familiarly styled him, the real Plantagenet.

In this state of infatuation, the joint effects of weak credulity and faction, were almost the whole of the people of the Pale, at the time when Swartz and his Germans landed at Dublin. It may be conceived, therefore, to what a height their spirits were elevated by this reinforcement, as well as by the sanction derived to their enterprise from the high rank of the two English lords who accompanied it. The earl of Lincoln, though fully aware of the imposture, having often conversed with the real Warwick at Shene, recommended that Simnel should be crowned; and accordingly this ceremony was performed by John Payne, bishop of Meath, in the cathedral called Christ Church. The boy was crowned with a diadem borrowed, for the occasion, from a statue of the Virgin, in St. Mary's Abbey; and was carried in triumph from the church to the castle of Dublin, on the shoulders of a gigantic man, called Great Darcy of Platten.*

Emboldened by this success, the Anglo-Irish leaders extended still further their views; and, presuming the mass of the English people to be quite as ripe for revolt as themselves, resolved on the bold and hazardous step of an immediate invasion of England. No time was lost in putting this fool-hardy project in execution; the

* Cox.

earl of Lincoln was intrusted with the command of the armament; and so great was the zeal with which all classes and conditions joined in the enterprise, that the lord Thomas Fitz Gerald, the brother of the earl of Kildare, resigned the high office of lord chancellor in order to accompany the expedition.

About the beginning of the month of June, the force destined for this object, consisting of the 2000 German auxiliaries, and "a great multitude," says the chronicler, of Irish, set sail from Dublin, and with a fair wind reached in safety the Pile of Foudray, in the southern extremity of Furness. There landing, they encamped at Swartmoor, where being joined by sir Thomas Broughton, the friend of lord Lovell, they directed their march through the county of York. The hope held out to them of a rising in their favour, by the Yorkists of the northern counties, proved to be utterly groundless; though of all that could be done for them by the slowness and ignorance of the enemy, they appear to have had the full advantage; for, such was the confusion and mismanagement of the king's army, that, between Nottingham and Newark, it actually lost its way, and was forced to wait for guides.* Had such a mishap befallen the Irish and German invaders, it would not have been remarkable.

Growing impatient, at length, of a delay which brought no sign or promise of additional strength, Lincoln boldly pushed forward his force, and coming in conflict, at Stoke, with the vanguard of Henry's army, under the earl of Oxford, commenced the short but sanguinary action which finally decided the fate of the mock monarch of Ireland. So great was the advantage of strength on the royalists' side, that but a third part of the king's force was engaged in the action; while of the 8000 men that formed the invading army, one half was left dead on the field. The Germans fought with the cool courage of veterans; while the soldiers of the Pale, though armed but with Irish darts and skeins, and therefore unable to

* Lingard.

stand the shock of heavy cavalry, displayed bravery worthy of a more rational cause.* Among the slain were almost all the chief leaders of the expedition, the earl of Lincoln, lord Thomas and Maurice Fitz Gerald, sir Thomas Broughton, and Martin Swartz. Lord Lovell, as appears from the journal of the herald who witnessed the conflict †, was seen to escape from the field of battle, but no further tidings were ever heard of him.

The fate of Simnel, who, together with his tutor, fell into the hands of the victorious party, formed such a contrast to his short pageant of royalty, as chequers the story of this sanguinary struggle with about an equal mixture of the painful and the ludicrous. Seeing no further harm to be apprehended from this weak tool of faction, before whom the lords and prelates of Ireland had so lately bowed in homage, the king, after granting him full pardon, made him a turnspit in the royal kitchen, and, not long after, raised him to the rank of a falconer.

Though faction and vulgar ambition were doubtless the source of most of the mischief by which, in this farcical conspiracy, the lords of the Pale had disgraced themselves, it can as little be questioned, that a great portion of the community, having been taught, by the example and language of their superiors, to regard Simnel as their rightful prince, might have adopted with perfect sincerity such a persuasion, and felt, accordingly, an earnest zeal in his service. That this feeling continued to be cherished by his followers in Dublin, for some months after his defeat and fall, may be collected from a

* "Of the other syde, the Iryshemen, although they foughte hardely and stucke to it valyauntly, yet because they were, after the manners of theyr countrey, almoste naked, without harneys or armure, they were stryken downe and slayne lyke dull and brute beastes, whose deathes and destrucyons was a great discouragynge and abashement to the residue of the company."—*Hall.*

† Leland, *Coll.* iv. 214., cited by Lingard. "Not forgetting the grete malice that the lady Margaréte of Bourgoigne bereth contynuelly against us, as she shewed lately in sending hider a fayned boye, surmising him to have been the son of the duc of Clarence, and caused him to bee accompanyed with Th' earl of Lincoln, the lord Lovel, and with a grete multitude of Irisshemen and of Almains, whoes end, blessed bee God, was as ye knowe wele." — Henry VII. to Sir Gilbert Talbot, Ellis's *Original Letters.*

letter addressed to the citizens of Waterford by Henry*, "concerning the treasons of the city of Dublin," wherein he complains that, "contrary to the duty of their allegiance, they will not yet know their seditious opinions, but unto this day uphold and maintain the same presumptuously." As a means of punishing this contumacy, he commands the citizens of Waterford to seize on the ships, goods, and merchandise of the rebels of Dublin, and "to employ the same unto the behoof and commonweal of our said city of Waterford."

Severe mention is likewise made in this royal letter of "our rebel," as the king styles him, the earl of Kildare. But this lord, though conscious of the daring enormity of his offence, was also too sensible of the extent and strength of his own power, to despair of regaining his former hold on the royal favour. In conjunction, therefore, with other great lords of the Pale, he despatched emissaries to Henry, acknowledging, in the most contrite manner, their common transgressions, and humbly imploring his pardon.

Perceiving that the storm which had threatened so seriously from that quarter had now blown over, and knowing it was only by the power and influence of Kildare and a few other great lords that the Irish chieftains could be kept in awe, Henry preferred the dangerous experiment of pardoning that powerful nobleman, to the still more serious danger, as he deemed it, of driving him into new and confirmed hostility. With a policy, therefore, which only the anomalous position of Ireland could account for, he retained him still in the office of chief governor; — still confided to his hands the trust which he had just so openly and treasonably betrayed.†

The clemency thus shown to offenders in the higher ranks, encouraged the lower class of rebels to try also their chance of pardon; and the citizens of Dublin, who had viewed with jealousy the favours bestowed by the king upon Waterford, — as if they themselves could rationally expect to enjoy at once the privileges of re-

* Ryland, *Hist. of Waterford.* † Ware's *Annals.*

bellion and the rewards of loyalty, — now endeavoured to recover their lost ground; and, addressing a petition, with the view of exculpating themselves, to the throne, charged the whole blame of the late revolt upon the lord deputy and the clergy. "We were daunted," say they, "to see, not only your chief governor, whom your highness made ruler over us, to bend or bow to that idol whom they have made us to obey, but also our father of Dublin, and most of the clergy of the nation, excepting the reverend father his grace Octavian, archbishop of Armagh. We, therefore, humbly crave your highness's clemency towards your poor subjects of Dublin, the metropolis of your highness's realm of Ireland." This crouching effort, on the part of the citizens, to remove from themselves the odium and ridicule of the late proceedings, does not appear to have been in any way noticed or acknowledged by the king.

No juncture, perhaps, had occurred, from the time of the conquest of Ireland by the English, of which a firm and foresighted policy might so advantageously have availed itself, for the great object of completing by the law, a work which the sword had left so mangled and imperfect, as that now afforded to the English monarch by the humbled condition to which the great lords of the Pale were reduced. So much had the attention of most of his predecessors been drawn away by foreign wars and domestic feuds from a due watchfulness over the course of Irish affairs, that the concerns of that kingdom were, in general, abandoned, without any really efficient check, to the selfish and factious administration of one or other of those great Anglo-Irish families, who, according to the ascendency of their several parties, were, each in turn, the real rulers of the realm.

Nor was it only from their position as subaltern masters, that the Anglo-Irish lords derived their powers of mischief; they had likewise inherited, from their mixed descent, a combination of qualities and habits such as was in itself sufficient to account for much of the evils of which they were the authors. For, while, on the one

hand, their prejudice in favour of the land of their birth led them to adopt all its rudest laws and usages, and even to oppose themselves to change or improvement, as an insult, their English blood, on the other hand, showed itself in their retention of the tone and policy of conquerors; in their reliance, for the safety of their power, rather on the arms of the nation they had sprung from, than on the social and loyal affections of those among whom they were born, and in their reserving to themselves, as a trophy of English supremacy, a monopoly of all the advantages and protection of English law.

In their late factious revolt in favour of Simnel, the leading lords of the Pale had hazarded a more than ordinary defiance of the royal authority; the very government itself having set the new and monstrous example of official high treason and vice-regal revolt. But their discomfiture and humiliation had been complete; nor could the crown have found a more favourable occasion to wrest the rule of that realm from the hands of its selfish oligarchy, to remove the barrier so long interposed between the native race and the throne, and thus, by extending to all, as a right, that legal protection which was now but the privilege of a few, to make the law, rather than the sword, the means of converting the Irish enemies into subjects.

Such appears not, however, to have been the view taken by Henry of this important crisis; which is the more unaccountable, as it was the very policy pursued so boldly and successfully by him in England. There, also, had he found, on his accession, an aristocracy of petty kings, alike domineering over the people and dictating to the throne. But, by breaking down this unruly power, he had given to the crown its due stability and weight, and at the same time removed the pressure of so many small tyrannies from the people. Very different was the line now adopted by him, as deliberately, doubtless, but less wisely, with regard to Ireland. Instead of availing himself of the present reduced state of the Anglo-Irish satraps, to curtail, at least, if not crush, their powers

of mischief, and thus clear the ground for future reforms, he still retained, as we have seen, in full, undiminished authority, all the chief authors of the late daring revolt; and the only remedial step taken by him
A. D. was the appointment of sir Richard Edgecomb, a gen-
1488. tleman high in his confidence and the comptroller of his household, to proceed to Ireland, with a guard of 500 men, there to receive new oaths of allegiance from the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, and, after binding them by law to the observance of their oaths, to grant them the royal pardon.

The progress and acts of this special commission have been recorded with much minuteness.* At Kinsale, sir Richard, determining not to land, received the homage of Thomas, lord Barry, on board his ship; but, on the following day, at the earnest entreaty of James, lord Courcy, he made his entry into the town, where, in the chancel of St. Melteoc's† church, Courcy did homage for his barony, and all the inhabitants of the town, following his example, took the oath of fidelity, and entered into recognizances.

From thence sir Richard sailed for Waterford, where he was honourably entertained by the inhabitants, and returned them thanks, in the king's name, for their city's constancy and faithfulness. Understanding that he was the bearer of the royal pardon for the earl of Kildare, a nobleman who had been always, they said, their "utter enemy," on account of their loyalty to the English crown, they prayed of sir Richard to sue, in their behalf, to the king, that if ever Kildare should again be lord of that land, their city might be exempt from his jurisdiction, as well as from that "of all other Irish lords that should bear any rule in that land for evermore, and should hold immediately of the king and his heirs, and of such lords of England, as shall

* Voyage of Sir Richard Edgecomb into Ireland; — for which see Harris's *Hibernica*.

† "This is, I dare say, the St. Multos, whose name the parish church of Kinsale bears." — Lanigan, *Ecclesiast. Hist. of Ireland.*

fortune hereafter to have the rule of Ireland, — and of none others."

Very different was the scene prepared for him in Dublin, where, arriving on the 5th of July, he found the mayor and citizens waiting, in the guise of suppliants, to receive him, at the abbey gate of the Friars Preachers, by whom, during his stay, he was to be lodged and entertained. Kildare himself, who then happened to be absent on a pilgrimage, returned to Dublin at the end of about seven days, when, by his desire, an interview took place between him and sir Richard, at the abbey of St. Thomas *, in the west suburbs of the city; the king's commissioner being conducted thither by the bishop of Meath, one of the most active of the supporters of Simnel, by the baron of Slane, and several other high personages. Sir Richard then openly, in the great chamber, delivered the king's letters to the earl, — "not without some show," it is added, "of bitterness," — and a parley was held between them on the subject of the commission, which ended unsatisfactorily, — Kildare returning to his seat at Maynooth, and sir Richard to the Friars Preachers.

At length, after various consultations, both in Dublin and at Maynooth, the earl did homage, in the presence of the royal commissioner, in the great chamber of the abbey of St. Thomas; and, being afterwards absolved of his excommunication, while mass was sung, took the oath of allegiance †, and bound himself in recognizances to the due observance of it. Sir Richard then hung around Kildare's neck a golden chain which the king had sent him, as an earnest of his favour; after which, the earl and the commissioner, attended by all the bishops and lords, went into the church of the monastery, "and in the choir thereof, the archbishop of Dublin began Te Deum, and the choir, with the

* Founded in that part of Dublin now called Thomas Court.

† The earl's oath was taken solemnly, on the holy Host, before the altar; and Edgecomb suspected, it is clear, some intended evasion of this rite, as he insisted that "a chaplain of his own should consecrate the Host."

organs, sung it up solemnly; and at that time all the bells in the church rung." When these ceremonies were all ended, sir Richard entertained the earl and the other lords at a great feast in the abbey of the Friars Preachers.*

To this general and, in some respects, indiscreet extension of clemency, there were but two exceptions; namely, James Keating, the turbulent prior of Kilmainham†, and Thomas Plunket, chief justice of the common pleas, who, of all the authors and fomenters of the late revolt, had been the most active and mischievous. Through the intercession of Kildare and others of the nobility, Plunket was pardoned; but the life of Keating having been, for the thirty years he was prior of Kilmainham, one constant course of outrage, rapine, and fraud, he was excluded from the benefits of pardon, and also dispossessed of the office of constable of the castle of Dublin, which he had for several years violently usurped.

Having thus finished his task with the only act of vigour and justice by which this very unmeaning mission appears to have been signalised, Edgecomb, escorted by the archbishop of Dublin, the chief justice, Bermingham, and the recorder of Dublin, proceeded, on the 30th of July, to Dalkey; and, after more than a week of vain efforts to leave the Irish coast, the wind being strong and adverse, succeeded, at length, in getting to sea, and reached the port of Fowey.‡

Though Henry, acting on the dictates of a judgment seldom clouded either by feeling or temper, had deemed it prudent, notwithstanding their late flagrant treason, to leave still in the hands of Kildare and his fellow delinquents, all the highest offices of the state, he yet failed not to keep a strict watch on their movements; and seeing reason, doubtless, to apprehend from them some new scheme in favour of the house of York, he summoned

* Ware's *Annals*.

† For a full account of this prior's rapacious and violent proceedings, see Archdall, *Monast. Hib.* p. 249.

‡ Edgecomb's Voyage, *Hibernica*.

the greater number of the lords temporal of that king- A. D.
dom to repair to him in England. In consequence of 1489.
this, the earl of Kildare, the viscounts Buttevant and Fermoy, and the lords of Athenry, Kinsale, Gormanstown, Delvin, Howth, Slane, Killeen, Trimleston, and Dunsany, waited upon the king at Greenwich.

Whatever reprehension they might naturally have expected from the lips of their offended sovereign, such was by no means the tone adopted towards them by the calm and calculating Henry. Instead of bringing against these lords their past delinquencies,—an account closed, as he felt, by the royal pardon,—he wisely contented himself with warning them against any repetition of such conduct; and, with reference to their choice of a creature like Simnel to be their sovereign, told them, with bitter sarcasm, that "if their king were to continue absent from them, they would, at length, crown apes." Shortly after, he invited them to a splendid banquet, where a still more significant satire on their folly was presented to them in the person of Lambert Simnel himself, who had been exalted, for that day, from the region of the kitchen, to wait on his late noble subjects at table.*

During the stay of these lords at Greenwich, they accompanied the king in a solemn procession to the church; and, when they took leave of him to return to Ireland, were dismissed with marks of the royal favour, among which was a gift to the baron of Howth of 300 pieces of gold.†

While thus the leaders of the small colony of the Pale—from whence, almost solely, in these times, are furnished the materials of what is called Irish history —were indulging, as usual, in the two alternate extremes of treason and abject loyalty, the native septs, who still held possession of by far the greater and more fertile portion of the island, continued, unmindful of the presence of the foreigner, to make war only among

* Hall's *Chronicle*. Ware's *Annals*.
† Ware's *Annals*, ad ann. 1489.

themselves; and appeared to forget that they had any enemies in the country but each other. There were a few, indeed, among the great Anglo-Irish lords, who, by long mixture of blood, by their extensive possessions, and, even still more, by their flattering adoption of the laws and usages of the land, had gained a station in the hearts of the natives, little less home-felt and familiar than that of their own native chiefs. Of this description had been, through several generations, the earls of Desmond; the ninth earl of which family was, in the third year of this reign, murdered by one of his own servants in his house at Rathkeal, in the county of Limerick. Among the crimes charged against this lord's father, and for which he was executed, as we have seen, at Drogheda, alliance with the Irish was one of the most prominent; and yet — so feeble are all laws against which nature enters her protest — the very son of that lord, James, the late earl, was not deterred by his father's tragic fate from choosing for his wife a lady of the land, the daughter of O'Brian, chief of Thomond.

Soon after the departure of the king's commissioner, Kildare had been called to suppress an outbreak of the Mac Geohegans, in a small territory belonging to the chief of that sept, called Moy-Cashel. There, having taken and destroyed the castle of Beleragh, the king's troops dispersed themselves over the whole district, and after destroying all the villages and farms, returned to their quarters loaded with spoil. There was also much fighting, in the course of this year, between the new earl of Desmond, the tenth of that title, and the Irish chiefs in his neighbourhood. This lord, who, from a defect in his limbs, had been nicknamed the Lame, soon acquired, by his feats in the field, the title of the War-like*; and, following the example of his noble progenitors, lived almost entirely on his own princely domains, among the native septs, — making wars and treaties with them at pleasure, and continuing in his ways and habits all the barbaric grandeur of the ancient Irish

* Lodge.

chief. In perfect consistency with this character, he appears to have passed his whole life in constant warfare with his neighbours; having qualified himself, if it may be so expressed, for this state of mutual hostility, by becoming one of themselves. In a victory gained by him over Morough O'Carrol, prince of Ely, that chief was slain in the course of the conflict, together with his brother Maol Mury; and, in another great battle fought by Desmond, Mac Carthy, the rightful prince of Desmond, was vanquished and slain.

About the same time, the great chieftain, O'Neill, having committed some acts of aggression upon a neighbouring lord, O'Donnell, animosities arose between their two septs, which continued to rage for some months; till at length they were interrupted by the murder of O'Neill by his own brother. The fierce struggle between these two chiefs is said to have commenced by a correspondence truly laconic: — "Send me tribute, or else ——," was the brief mandate of O'Neill; "I owe you no tribute, and if ——," was the significant answer of O'Donnell.*

The plot of which Simnel was made the instrument having proved so signal a failure, it would seem hardly conceivable that, in but a few years after, some of the very same personages who had been concerned in this abortive scheme should have brought forward another contrivance of nearly the same pattern; and moreover, that Ireland, or rather the seat of the English power in that island, should have been again chosen, on no very flattering estimate of its honesty or discernment, to be the opening scene of the imposture. Of this plot, as well as of the former, the ever restless duchess of Burgundy was the prime mover †; and the personage

* Cox.

† "The lady Margaret of Burgundy," says Bacon, "whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king."— According to Henry's account of the plot, there had been two other subjects of personation thought of, before Richard duke of York was adopted. "Another fayned lad," he says, "called Perkin Warbeck, born at Tournay in Picardy, at his furst into Ireland, called himself the bastard son of king Richard; after that the son of the said duc of Clarence; and now the secund son of our fadre king Edward iiijth, whom God assoile." — *Ellis's Original Letters.*

A. D. 1490. whom she now prepared to bring forward was no other than Richard duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., who had made his escape, as she pretended, from the Tower, when his elder brother was murdered.

In her choice of the personage to be represented, she showed, on the present occasion, far more judgment than on the former, since to Richard, were he still living, the crown really belonged; whereas the young Warwick could not have succeeded as long as any of the descendants of Edward IV. were alive. The individual she had chosen to personate her royal nephew, and who bore some resemblance to him, it is said, in his person and features, was an accomplished young Fleming, named Peter Osbeck, though generally called Perkin Warbeck; and, from the time it must have taken to educate him for the new character he was about to assume, it is clear that the indefatigable duchess must have begun to lay the foundation of this second bold imposture almost immediately after the failure of the first.

Having succeeded, as she hoped, in making of this youth an instrument aptly suited to her views, she deemed it prudent to wait a more favourable time for the development of her plot; and with the view, meanwhile, of keeping Warbeck concealed, as well as of diverting attention from Flanders, as the birth-place of the plot, she sent him privately, under the care of lady Brampton, into Portugal. Whether any rumours had yet reached Henry of this new plot of the intriguing duchess, does not very clearly appear; but that he had grounds, at this time, for suspecting the earl of Kildare of some embryo mischief, may be taken for granted, from his sudden dismissal of that powerful lord from the office 1492. of deputy. He also, at the same time, removed from the post of high treasurer, which had been held by him for above thirty-eight years, Kildare's father-in-law, Fitz-Eustace, baron of Portlester. In place of Kildare, the archbishop of Dublin, Walter Fitz-Symons, was made lord deputy; while, with ominous warning for the Geraldines, sir James Ormond, natural son of the late earl,

—who had died on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land,—was appointed high treasurer in the place of lord Portlester.

It was now seen of what potent efficacy had been the mere name of Kildare in keeping the Irish, around the Pale, in a state of subjection and peace; for no sooner was his removal from the government known, than they rose in tumultuous revolt, and laid waste and burnt the English borders.

In this condition were the affairs of Ireland, and the English monarch had just embarked in a war with France, when the duchess of Burgundy, timing most skilfully her enterprise, sent orders to Perkin to sail without delay for Ireland; and such ready dupes, or instruments, did her scheme find in that country, that the mere announcement of the arrival at Cork of an ordinary merchant vessel from Lisbon, with a youth on board, richly attired, who called himself Richard duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., appears to have been sufficient to rouse into activity the ever ready elements of Anglo-Irish faction.

A merchant of Cork, named John Water, who had been lately mayor of that city, took up warmly the young pretender's cause, and enlisted the citizens in his favour. There were also letters despatched to Kildare, and his kinsman Desmond, entreating them, as champions of the York cause, to extend to this youth their sanction and aid; but how far either of those lords embarked, at this time, in his wild enterprise, we have no means of ascertaining. The great success, however, of the plot in Cork had bestowed on it a stamp which secured its currency elsewhere; and the news of the event had no sooner reached France, than the king, perceiving what use might be made of such an instrument, in the present critical state of his relations with England, sent off messengers in haste to Cork, to invite Warbeck to his court, and assure him of welcome and protection.

The reception the pretender had experienced from Henry's factious subjects was outdone in pomp, though not in cordiality, by that which awaited him at the

court of Henry's enemy; — where, treated with all the forms due to the lofty rank assumed by him, he was lodged in splendid apartments, and had a guard of honour appointed to attend him, of which the sieur de Concressault, a Scotsman by descent, was the commander. This stroke of policy was followed quickly by the intended effect. Fearing the influence of such an example on his own subjects, the English monarch consented readily to more equal terms of peace with France; and the tool, Warbeck, having served the purpose for which his mock honours were granted, found himself consigned to unceremonious neglect. Having some reason also to fear that he would be delivered up to Henry, he withdrew himself privately from the court of France, and fled into Flanders. There, with well-feigned wonder and triumph, the scheming duchess received him as her nephew, then for the first time seen by her; presented him, as such, to her assembled court; appointed a guard for his person of thirty halberdiers, "clad," as the chronicler tells us, "in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue *;" and bestowed upon him the appellation of "the White Rose of England."

The triumph of the party that had succeeded to authority in Ireland, was still fully maintained. In a parliament held at Dublin, by the present deputy, archbishop Fitz-Symons, some inquisitions that had been found against him, through the instigation of lord Portlester, were declared to be null and void; while, at the same time, lord Portlester himself was called to account for his long mismanagement of the public revenues, and ordered, on pain of imprisonment and forfeiture, to pay all the arrears due by him into the exchequer.

Towards the end of this year, Fitz-Symons was succeeded in the government by sir Robert Preston, first viscount of Gormanston, who immediately summoned several of the nobles and chief gentlemen of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Meath, to assemble at Trim, and take into consideration the state of the

* Hall. Bacon.

kingdom. Among the "articles for the peace of the realm," subscribed by them, there is one deserving of notice, as showing that the right of making war, as well with each other as with the natives, was sometimes assumed, in defiance of law, by the lawgivers of the Pale themselves:—"No man," says the article, "must make war without the consent of the king's deputy."*

The late lord deputy, archbishop Fitz-Symons, having been sent for by Henry, in the autumn of this year, to give him information of the state of affairs in Ireland, Kildare, who had learned that his adversaries at court were busy in defaming his character, sailed also immediately for England, with the view of clearing himself to the king. But the party opposed to him were no less alert in their movements; and the lord deputy Gormanston leaving the government in the hands of his son, followed the earl to England, and there, with the assistance of sir James Ormond and the archbishop †, succeeded for the time so well, in thwarting the views of Kildare, that this lord's justification was rejected and himself sent back in disgrace to Dublin.

The effect produced by the landing of Warbeck in Ireland, not merely as regarded that country itself, but as viewed in its possible influence on other nations, had led Henry to consider more seriously the state of his Irish dominions; and the step now taken by him, however inadequate to the actual exigencies of the case, may be regarded as the first real effort of the English government in Ireland to curb that spirit of provincial despotism which it had itself let loose and fostered. Of all the means of oppression and mischief placed at the disposal of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, their packed and irresponsible parliament was certainly not the least

* Cox.

† Of this prelate, who was in great favour with Henry, the following anecdote is told by Stanihurst:—"Being present when an oration was made in praise of the king, he was asked by his majesty, at the close of the speech, what he found most material in it. The archbishop replied, 'If it pleaseth your highness, it pleaseth me. I find no fault, save only that he flattered your majesty too much.'—'Now, in good faith,' said the king, 'our father of Dublin, we were minded to find the same fault ourselves.'"—*De Rebus Hib.*

efficient. A few rich and mighty lords combined in themselves the whole weight of the body; and of these, the petty parliament of the four shires was always the obsequious instrument. According, therefore, as the Butlers or the Geraldines happened to be uppermost, so were the justice and favour of the crown dealt out; while, by both factions equally, the subjects of the Pale were harassed with forays and exactions, and the hapless natives themselves hunted, like wild beasts, into their coverts.

A. D. 1494. The person selected to carry into effect the important reforms the king now meditated, and also to trace out and punish the lurking abettors of Warbeck, was sir Edward Poynings, a knight of the garter and privy councillor, in whom the king placed much confidence. There went likewise with him, to form his council, several eminent English lawyers; and he was attended by a small force amounting to about a thousand men. Finding, on his arrival, that some of the most active abettors of Warbeck had escaped into Ulster, and were there protected by the native Irish, he deemed it most politic to begin by punishing these delinquents, so as to strike terror into the disaffected, before he addressed himself to those measures of reform which had been the chief object of his coming. Uniting with his own forces such as could be collected for him within the Pale, he directed his march towards Ulster, attended by sir James Ormond, and, notwithstanding all that had lately occurred, by the earl of Kildare.

Such influence, indeed, had this lord acquired over the minds of the natives, that, whether as a sanction or a terror, his name was indispensable to the full success of every dealing with them, whether of negotiation or of warfare; and this ascendency over them he owed not more to his reputation for warlike deeds, than to the pride they took in him, as their born countryman, and also as connected, by family alliances, with some of the most popular of their own national chiefs. He appears himself, likewise, to have gone far beyond most of his

brother lords in adopting the manners, usages, and tone of thinking of the native Irish; and how trying and equivocal was the position in which his relationship with both races sometimes placed him, is strikingly shown by all that arose out of his expedition, at this time, under Poynings, into Ulster. O'Hanlon and Mac Genis, the leaders of the Irish there collected, retired, as usual, on the approach of the enemy, into their bogs and forests; and all that was left, therefore, for Poynings to resort to, was the equally usual procedure of burning and laying waste the whole of the lands of the two chiefs. Strong suspicions arose that Kildare, from a feeling of revenge for his late treatment had formed a plot, in concert with O'Hanlon, for the assassination of the lord deputy; and, still further to corroborate this suspicion, intelligence arrived, that James Fitz Gerald, the earl's brother, had suddenly seized on the castle of Catherlough, and strengthened it with a garrison. This ominous news compelled sir Edward to hasten his return. Making what terms he could with O'Hanlon and Mac Genis, and binding them both, by oaths and hostages, to observe the peace, he immediately marched his army to Catherlough, and, after a siege of ten days, obtained possession of the castle.

In the month of November this year, was held that memorable parliament at Drogheda, which enacted the statute called, after the name of the lord deputy, Poynings' Act. The provision made by this particular enactment was, that no parliament should, for the future, be holden in Ireland until the chief governor and council had first certified to the king, under the great seal of that land, "as well the causes and considerations as the acts they designed to pass, and till the same should be approved by the king and council." This noted statute was meant as a preventive of some of those evils and inconveniences which could not but arise from the existence of a separate legislature in Ireland, independent of, and irresponsible to, that of England, and therefore liable, in the hands of a factious aristocracy, to be made

the instrument of mere selfish rapacity and revenge. The mischiefs inseparable from the nature of a body so constituted were shown, in their most flagrant form, during the contests between the Yorkists and Lancastrians; and very recently, as we have seen, the gross mockery had been exhibited of a parliament summoned to sanction the claims of the wretched impostor, Lambert Simnel.*

It was also enacted, in this present parliament, that all the statutes made lately in England, concerning or belonging to the public weal, should be thenceforth good and effectual in Ireland.

Among several other acts, passed at this time, of an inferior, but still important character, there was one annulling a prescription claimed by rebels and traitors, in Ireland, by reason of an act, passed during the lieutenancy of the duke of York, ordaining that Ireland should be a sanctuary for foreigners, and that it should be treason to disturb any refugees in that country, by any writ, letters missive, or other such authority, from England. This dangerous exemption had been granted by Richard duke of York†, when engaged in rebellion against Henry VI., for the purpose of encouraging his friends to repair to him in Ireland; and the abettors of Simnel and Warbeck had pleaded it in excuse of their late treason. It was, accordingly, now repealed, and all receivers and maintainers of traitors were declared guilty of treason.

One of the abuses, proved by these statutes to be then prevalent, was the practice, among the great lords, of keeping crowds of retainers; an abuse carried also, at this period, to a dangerous extent in England. The power assumed, too, by the lords of the Pale, of making war or peace, as they pleased, was likewise prohibited; and to stir up the "Irishry" against the people of the

* In describing the state of public feeling, with respect to Warbeck, on his first appearance, Hall says, "In Ireland there be two kind of men; one soft, gentle, civil, and courteous; .... the other kind is clean contrary from this, for they be wild, rustical, foolish, fierce, and for their unmannerly behavior and rude passions are called wild and savage Irishmen. To these wild colts" (he adds) "Perkin shewed hym selfe first."

† Cox.

Pale, or make war upon the chief governor, was declared high treason. The renowned statutes of Kilkenny were revived and confirmed by this parliament, with the exception only of that which prohibited the use of the Irish language; — a law long rendered inoperative by the general prevalence of the native tongue throughout all the English settlements.* The defence of the marches being an object of great importance, it was made felony to permit any enemies or rebels to pass them; all proprietors of march lands were obliged to reside there themselves, or leave, when absent, sufficient deputies, on pain of losing their estates; and all persons near the marches, between sixteen and sixty years of age, were to be ready to repair, on warning, in suitable array, to their defence.

Doomed to suffer by the peculiar oppressions of both countries, Ireland was harassed not only by her own ancient exaction, coyne and livery, but also by the English mode of extortion, purveyance; and against both these heavy grievances one of the acts of Poynings' parliament was directed. The general use of bows and arrows was, as usual, enjoined, and the wild war-cries adopted by some of the great English families, in imitation of the natives, were strictly forbidden, as watchwords of faction, and provocatives of riot.†

As the chief object of most of the enactments of this parliament was to break down, or at least reduce, the enormous power of the lords of the Pale, a measure was again, at this time, brought forward, which had

* There occur some striking remarks in Spenser (*View of the State of Ireland*), on the great strength of national character evinced by the Irish in thus forcing the native language upon the victor. "For it hath ever been," he says, "the use of the conqueror to despise the language of the conquered, and to force him by all means to learn his. So did the Romans always use, insomuch that there is almost no nation in the world but is sprinkled with their language. It were good, therefore, meseems, to search out the original cause of this evil, ... for I think it very strange, that the English being so many, and the Irish so few, as they then were left, the fewer should draw the more into their use."

† The war-cry of the Butlers was *Butler-aboe*, meaning, according to Ware, the cause of the Butlers. The earl of Kildare's cry was, *Crom-aboe*, — from a small castle, says the same authority, called *Crom*, belonging to that family. See, for the cries of the other great lords and chiefs, Ware, *Antiq.* chap. 21.

been already, more than once, suspended over them ; and an act for the resumption, with some few exceptions, of all the grants made by the crown since the last days of the reign of king Edward II., was passed in this parliament. With the same view, it was held to be necessary to make an example of the earl of Kildare ; and, although the charges against him appear to have rested upon little more than suspicion, he was by an act of this parliament attainted for high treason ; and his brother James and several other Geraldines were also declared traitors. Such, with the addition of a law enacting that "the lords of Ireland should wear in parliament the same sort of robes as were worn by the English lords in the parliament of England," were the whole of the statutes passed at Drogheda, under the government of sir Edward Poynings.

These laws, when first enacted, extended no further than the narrow limits of the Pale ; but, according as the authority of the crown increased, their effect and influence gained ground, until at length they came to be in force over the entire kingdom.

In the "great treaty of commerce" signed, at this time, between England and the Netherlands, a provision was, at Henry's desire, inserted, expressly stipulating that the duchess of Burgundy should not be permitted to aid or harbour the king's rebels, under pain of losing her domains. As Warbeck, therefore, against whom this article was levelled, could no longer remain in Flanders, he set sail once more for Ireland*, hoping to enlist the people of that country in his cause. Finding, however, in this his second attempt, but little support or encouragement, he set sail from Cork to
A. D. Scotland, having been recommended to James IV., then
1495. ruler of that kingdom, not only by the duchess of Bur-

* This second visit of the impostor, by order of Margaret, to Ireland, is thus quaintly recorded by Bernard Andreas, the poet laureate and historiographer of Henry VII. :—"Innone ilium revocante, in Flandriam profectus est. Post in Hyberniam coronationis gratia prospero vento delatus, magnam barbarorum illius insulæ partem suis callidissimis subornavit tractationibus."—Cited by Ellis, from a MS. in the British Museum.

gundy, but in private letters from the king of France and from Maximilian the emperor.

Once more, therefore, do we find this phantom of the historic scene assuming the semblance of royalty, and moving about among kings and princes as their acknowledged equal. Having been announced by the duchess to James as "the prince of England," that monarch received him with royal honours, at the palace of Stirling, addressing him publicly as "cousin." Whether James really believed in Warbeck's story, it is not easy to discover. But that, early in the course of the plot, he had been engaged in secret correspondence with the duchess of Burgundy, and made himself, on one occasion, the medium of communication between her and Ireland, appears curiously from the Scottish records.* Whatever his secret opinion or knowledge on the subject may have been, his whole conduct implied a belief in the truth of Warbeck's claims; and he now did not hesitate to bestow on him the hand of the fair Catherine Gordon, a lady of remarkable beauty, the daughter of the earl of Huntley, and grand-daughter of James I.

About this time, Hugh O'Donnell, the chief of Tyrconnel, returned from a visit to the Scottish court, whither he had gone, it is supposed, to consult with king James on matters relating to the cause and fortunes of Perkin Warbeck. But, out of the precincts of the English Pale, little interest appears to have been taken in this adventurer; and it is far more probable that the object of O'Donnell's visit to Scotland, where he was received by the king with all due honour and state †, was to ask for aid for himself in the warfare he

* It is generally believed, that Warbeck's connection with James commenced shortly before his arrival at this time in Scotland; but Mr. Tytler, in his able and valuable work (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. chap. 3.), has shown that this monarch had long held secret communication both with the duchess of Burgundy and with Warbeck, and, in more than one instance, had been made the medium of their correspondence with Ireland. So early as the year 1491, the following entry, it appears, is found in the Treasurer's Books: — "Given, at the king's command, to an Englishman called Edward Ormond, that brought letters forth of Ireland fra king Edward's son, and the earl of Desmond, ix lb."

† "He was received by the king," says Tytler, "with great state and distinction," — in proof of which the following items from the Treasurer's

was then engaged in with a brother chieftain, O'Connor of Connaught. On his return, a great battle was fought between them, in which O'Donnell was the victor; and, immediately after, he laid siege to the castle of Sligo. But, on the arrival of Ulick Burke, lord of Clanricarde, with a large army, O'Donnell hastily withdrew.

In consequence of his having been attainted by Poynings' parliament, the earl of Kildare had been sent in custody to England, where he still remained a prisoner; and so deeply did his lady, the countess, feel this event, that it was the cause, we are told, of her death.

A. D. 1496. One of the charges urged against him was, that he had sacrilegiously burnt down the church of Cashel; and the success of the defence made by him, when examined, respecting this outrage, in the royal presence, shows, if true, that the monarch's relish for Irish simplicity and humour was somewhat more awake than his sense of dignity or of justice. Confessing the fact of his having burned down the church, Kildare pleaded, as his excuse, that "he thought the archbishop was in it;" which, being said with an odd bluntness peculiar to this lord, had the effect of at once amusing and prepossessing the king in his favour; — such natural frankness appearing incompatible with the finesse and intrigue attributed to Kildare.

Henry had advised him, on the first hearing of his case, to provide himself with good counsel, adding, that his cause, he feared, would require it. "I will then choose," said the earl, "the best counsel in England." "And who is that?" asked Henry. "Marry, the king himself," replied Kildare. "Whereat," says the chronicler, "the king laughed." So much, however, did all this simplicity of manner win upon the royal mind, that, when the counsel against Kildare, in concluding his charge, said vehemently, that "not all Ireland could

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Accounts are given. — "Item, passing with letters in the east and southlandis, for the receving of great Odonnel, x shillings. Item, to master Alexr Schawe's expenses, passing from the town of Air to Edinburgh, for the cupboard, and remaining there upon the king's clothing, to the receiving of Odonnel, xx shillings."

govern this man," the king replied, "Then is he the fittest man to govern all Ireland."

The earl's cause accordingly triumphed; the chief O'Hanlon, with whom it was asserted he had conspired against the lord deputy, came forward to clear him upon oath; and he was not only restored by the king to honour and estate, but, by letters patent, of the 6th of August this year, made lord lieutenant of Ireland. The king thought it prudent to retain, as a hostage for Kildare's fidelity, his eldest son, Gerald. But, whatever suspicion had hitherto fallen on this lord's loyalty, no such reproach appears to have attended him during the remainder of his long career; nor could he, at all events, be charged as deficient in that most essential evidence of loyalty — incessant warfare against the Irish. He had but a short time, indeed, received the sword from his predecessor, when he set out on an expedition against O'Brian of Thomond, and took by assault the castle of Feyback, belonging to Finnin Mac Namara. He afterwards stormed and destroyed the castle of Ballynetty, as well as some other fortified places, and returned in triumph to Dublin.

The flattering prospects opened to Warbeck by the zealous part the Scottish monarch had taken in his behalf having now entirely vanished, the unfortunate adventurer, whom James to the last had continued to treat with all the respect due to his assumed rank, resolved to try once more his fortune in Ireland; and a vessel and a guard of thirty horse having been provided for him by his generous protector, he sailed, accompanied by his beautiful consort, for Cork. There he was joined, A. D. soon after his landing, by the earl of Desmond, with a 1497. force of 2400 men; and, as Waterford was then the stronghold of loyalty, they marched directly against that city, and prepared to invest it. A fleet, at the same time, was ordered to Passage, consisting of eleven ships, to make an attack from the river, and also to land an additional body of troops.

For eleven days, the besieged citizens continued to

defend themselves with unflinching spirit; and, at length, becoming in their turn assailants, they attacked the enemy in their own quarters, till they compelled them to raise the siege. Having taken, in one of their sallies, a considerable number of prisoners, they carried them all to the market-place, and cutting off their heads, left them stuck on high stakes, as memorials of their victory. On another occasion, the cannon planted on Reginald's Tower having battered in the side of one of the enemy's ships, the whole of the crew, we are told, perished.* Discouraged by all these losses, Desmond found himself compelled to raise the siege; while Warbeck, embarking at Passage, made his way back to Cork, and from thence sailed to Cornwall, being closely pursued by four ships that had been sent from Waterford to apprehend him.

The only further connection with Ireland that remains to be noticed in this adventurer's fate, was the closing scene of his strange life, which took place in the year 1499; when, having been condemned as guilty of treason, he was executed at Tyburn, and, with him, suffered the first who espoused his adventurous cause, John Waters, mayor of Cork. His other Irish abettor, the earl of Desmond, was far more fortunate in his fate. Notwithstanding the overt and daring part he had taken in this youth's behalf, the king, with that clemency which, throughout his reign, he had so many opportunities of evincing, freely pardoned him all his offences, and even received him into favour.

The petty warfare in which Kildare became now

* Leland. Lodge. Smith (*Natural and Civil History of Waterford*, p. 124.). Tuckey (*Cork Remembrancer*, ad ann. 1497).

In deference to these and other Irish authorities, the above particulars of this alleged siege are given. But a letter addressed, this year, by the king himself, to sir Gilbert Talbot, contains a statement so wholly at variance with the received account of Desmond's proceedings, as to bring into suspicion not merely the details, but the fact itself of this siege of Waterford having ever occurred. Henry thus writes:—"Trusty and well beloved, we grete you wele, signifying unto you that wher as Perkin Warbek and his wif were lately sette ful porely to the see by the king of Scottes, and aftre that landed within our land of Irland in the wylde Irissherie, where he had be taken by our cousins Th' erls of Kildare and of Desmond, if he and his said wif had not secretly stolen away."—*Ellis's Original Letters*, vol. i. letter 14.

involved with some of the northern chiefs, and which raged at intervals through the two or three following years, partook too much of the clannish character of the feuds of the Irish themselves, to be narrated at any length as matter of history. In consequence of the unnatural murder of Con O'Neill, by his brother Henry, some years back, the territory of Tyrone had been divided between Henry and Daniel O'Neill; and, in the present year, Henry himself was barbarously assassinated by Tirlogh and Con, the sons of his murdered brother. This act produced a fresh explosion of violence among the whole family; and Kildare, in abetting Tirlogh, was actuated, doubtless, by feelings of relationship no less than by policy, as Tirlogh was his own nephew. Being now joined by O'Donnell, Mac Guire, and other friends of his kinsman, he laid siege to Dungannon, the chief seat of the O'Neills, and taking the castles, both of that town and of Omagh, compelled Neal Mac Art O'Neill, the opponent of his nephew, to submit and give hostages. Shortly after his return from this expedition, the earl marched to Cork, and, placing there a strong garrison, exacted similar terms of submission from that city and from Kinsale. A. D. 1498.

In like manner, through the two or three following years, we find this indefatigable veteran carrying triumphantly, through different parts of the kingdom, the terror of the English name and arms. In the course of an expedition into Connaught, he took and garrisoned the castles of Athleague, Roscommon, Tulsk, and Castlereagh; and again marching into Ulster, at the instance probably of his nephew, seized the castle of Kinard, and made Tirlogh governor of it. 1499.

But all this active course of aggression could not fail, in the end, to awaken a proportionate spirit of resistance; and the native chiefs, finding how unable they were to cope separately with Kildare, resolved to try, at last, the experiment of confederating among themselves. Ulick Burke, lord of Clanricarde, called commonly Mac William, — the head of a powerful sept of "de-

generate English,"—was the principal leader of this league, in which were joined also O'Brian of Thomond, Mac Namara, Melrony O'Carrol, and other chieftains; forming, with their united forces, as it is said, the most powerful native army that had been seen in Ireland since the conquest.

Duly sensible of the responsibility which this unusual effort of the Irish imposed upon him, Kildare collected together all the forces he was able to muster; and being accompanied by all the great Anglo-Irish lords, as well as by the mayor of Dublin, with a band of armed men, the bishop of Ardah, and one or two native chiefs, he advanced
A.D. the royal standard against the rebels. At the hill of
1504. Knoc-tuadh*, about seven miles from Galway, the two armies encountered; and after an obstinate conflict, the result of which was for some time doubtful, the victory fell to the earl of Kildare, and the Irish were defeated and routed with great slaughter; their loss being variously estimated at two, four, and even nine thousand men; while, by a sort of miracle, it is said, not a single Englishman in Kildare's army was even hurt. Among the prisoners were the two sons of Ulick of Clanricarde; and the towns of Galway and Athenry surrendered to the victor.†

It would appear, from some Irish annals of this period, that in private pique and family differences, between Kildare and the lord of Clanricarde, lay the real source of the hostility that led to this sanguinary battle. But, whatever may have originally provoked the warfare, its triumphant result was of the utmost consequence to the interests of the crown and of the English colony; as the power of the natives to combine successfully against their oppressors had now, to a certain

* Meaning, "the Mount of Axes."

† Of this battle sir John Davies says, "Though the lords and gentlemen of the Pale joined the famous battle of Knocktow, in Connaught, wherein Mac William, with 4000 of the Irish, were slain, yet was not this journey made by warrant from the king, or upon his charge (as it is expressed in the Book of Howth) but only upon a private quarrel of the earl of Kildare: so loosely were the martial affairs of Ireland carried, during the reign of king Henry the seventh."

extent, been tried, and had utterly failed; and the natural consequence was, an increased confidence in their own strength, on the part of the settlers, with a proportionate decline in the spirit and self-reliance of the Irish. So pleased was the king with his deputy's services on this occasion, that, on receiving the account of the victory, he created him a knight of the garter.

During the remainder of this monarch's reign, there occurred no event of any great interest or importance; except that, in spite of all the suspicion attached occasionally to Kildare, we find him, in the last year of this reign, at the head of the government, as he had been in the first. A. D. 1504.

CHAP. XLV.

HENRY VIII.

EARL OF KILDARE CONTINUED CHIEF GOVERNOR — HIS DEATH — IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON GERALD. — MILITARY EXPLOITS OF THIS EARL — IS SUMMONED TO ENGLAND ON CHARGES OF MALADMINISTRATION. — EARL OF SURREY LORD LIEUTENANT. — SECRET DESIGNS AGAINST KILDARE — HIS RECEPTION IN ENGLAND. — VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS OF DESMOND — FEUD BETWEEEN HIM AND THE EARL OF ORMOND. — JUDICIOUS POLICY OF SURREY — HIS VIEWS SECONDED BY THE KING — DESPAIRS OF THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND. — ORMOND APPOINTED LORD DEPUTY — IS SUPPLANTED BY KILDARE. — TREASONABLE PRACTICES OF DESMOND. — KILDARE AGAIN SUMMONED TO ENGLAND — IS COMMITTED TO THE TOWER. — ORMOND DISPOSSESSED OF HIS TITLE, AND CREATED EARL OF OSSORY. — LORD DELVIN THE NEW LORD DEPUTY — IS TREACHEROUSLY SEIZED AND KEPT PRISONER BY O'CONNOR.—SURREY'S OPINIONS RESPECTING IRELAND. — POPULARITY AND TRIUMPH OF KILDARE — IS SENT AS ADVISER TO THE NEW LORD DEPUTY, SKEFFINGTON — SUPPLANTS HIM, AND RESUMES THE GOVERNMENT. — COMBINATION AGAINST HIM — IS AGAIN SUMMONED TO ENGLAND — COMMITS THE GOVERNMENT TO HIS SON LORD THOMAS. — OFFICIAL REPORTS ON THE STATE OF IRELAND. — REBELLION OF LORD THOMAS FITZ GERALD. — DUBLIN CASTLE BESIEGED. — BARBAROUS MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP ALLEN. — LORD THOMAS INVADES THE TERRITORY OF THE EARL OF OSSORY — ENTERS INTO A TRUCE WITH THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN — IS EXCOMMUNICATED. — DEATH OF KILDARE IN THE TOWER. — WARFARE THROUGHOUT IRELAND. — LORD THOMAS NEGOTIATES FOR AID FROM FOREIGN POWERS. — SIEGE OF MAYNOOTH BY THE LORD DEPUTY. — SURRENDER OF THE CASTLE. — LORD THOMAS TAKES REFUGE WITH O'BRIAN. — THREATENED INVASION OF THE PALE. — ACTIVE SERVICES OF OSSORY AND HIS SON. — LOYAL CONDUCT OF THE NORTHERN CHIEFS. — INEFFICIENCY OF THE LORD DEPUTY. — FAMILY FEUDS AMONG THE NATIVES. — COLLUSIVE CHARACTER OF THE WARFARE ON BOTH SIDES. — WASTE AND RUIN OF THE COUNTRY. — ARRIVAL OF LORD LEONARD GRAY. —

SUBMISSION OF O'CONNOR. — LORD THOMAS SURRENDERS IN HOPE OF PARDON — IS CONVEYED PRISONER TO ENGLAND. — LORD LEONARD APPOINTED LORD DEPUTY. — DESTRUCTION OF O'BRIAN'S BRIDGE. — LORD THOMAS AND HIS FIVE UNCLES EXECUTED TOGETHER AT TYBURN. — EXPEDITION OF THE LORD DEPUTY INTO OFFALEY. — EXPULSION FROM THENCE OF O'CONNOR. — THAT TERRITORY BESTOWED ON THE CHIEF'S BROTHER CAHIR. — SUBSEQUENT CONDUCT OF THE BROTHERS. — SINGULAR PARLEY BETWEEN THE LORD DEPUTY AND O'CONNOR. — YOUNG GERALD FITZ GERALD, THE YOUNGER BROTHER OF LORD THOMAS — HIS JOURNEY WITH HIS MOTHER, LADY ELEANOR, TO O'DONNELL'S COUNTRY — LEAGUE IN HIS BEHALF AMONG THE NORTHERN CHIEFS — HIS CAUSE ESPOUSED BY THE EARL OF DESMOND. — MARRIAGE OF LADY ELEANOR TO O'DONNELL. — RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES BEGINNING TO MIX WITH IRISH STRIFE. — FEARS OF CONCERT BETWEEN THE CHIEFS AND THE SCOTTISH MONARCH. — FORMIDABLE LEAGUE BETWEEN O'BRIAN AND DESMOND. — EXPEDITION OF THE LORD DEPUTY INTO MUNSTER. — GERALDINE LORDS COMPELLED TO PROFFER ALLEGIANCE. — DESMOND DEFIES THE LORD DEPUTY'S POWER. — ESCAPE OF YOUNG GERALD INTO FRANCE — HIS SUBSEQUENT ADVENTURES.

DURING the first years of the reign of this prince, A. D. the affairs of Ireland attracted but little of his attention 1509. or interest. The earl of Kildare was still retained at the head of the government; and all the other public functionaries were left undisturbed in their several offices. The veteran lord justice, during the few remaining years of his life, continued to be engaged in constant warfare with the natives; and, invading successively Munster and Ulster, obtained, in both provinces, his usual meed of success; though opposed vigorously, in Munster, by a large confederate force, under the joint command of James, eldest son of the earl of Desmond, Tirlogh O'Brian, lord of Thomond, and Mac William, a chief of the sept of the Burkes.

But the termination of this remarkable man's career 1513. was now at hand. Resolving to invade Ely O'Carrol, the country of the chieftains of Ely, he marched, at the head of a large army, towards that territory; but, being taken ill on his way, at Athy, he was from thence re-

moved to Kildare, where, in the month of September, 1513, he died, and was buried in St. Mary's chapel, in the choir of Christ Church, Dublin.* On the earl's decease, the council nominated his son Gerald lord justice, and the king afterwards made him, by patent, lord deputy.

Inheriting much of the vigour and daring of the late lord, Gerald lost no time in following his example; and, beginning with O'Moore, of Ley, who had bid defiance to his authority, invaded that chieftain's territory, and drove him into his woods. He then attacked A. D. 1514. the country of Hugh O'Reilly, stormed and rased the castle of Cavan, and, having slain O'Reilly himself, and many of his followers, chased the rest into their inaccessible fastnesses, and burned and ravaged their country. The various achievements of this kind performed by the new lord deputy, in the course of the three or four following years, being wholly devoid of any of those associations or incidents that awaken historical interest, 1516. cannot be too succinctly related. In the course of an inroad into Imaly, in the county of Wicklow, he slew Shane O'Toole, a chieftain of that mountainous district, and sent his head to the mayor of Dublin. Advancing his standard then into Ely O'Carrol, he was joined in his invasion of that territory by several noblemen of Munster and Leinster, of English extraction, among whom were Piers Butler, earl of Ormond, and James, the eldest son of the earl of Desmond. Assisted by the forces of these lords, he laid siege to the castle of Limevan, which, after being defended for the space of a week, was deserted by the garrison, and, shortly after, demolished by Kildare. Thus successful, he pushed on rapidly to Clonmel, the inhabitants of which, being taken by surprise, immediately surrendered to him the town; and he returned from his rapid expedition loaded with trophies and spoil.†

* Lodge, — who says, his death was caused "by a shot he had received a little before, from the O'Mores of Leix."

† Cox. Ware's *Annals.*

A similar course of success attended his arms the following year in Ulster, when, marching into Lecale, he took by storm the fortified castle of Dundrum, from whence the English had been expelled by the natives; and then, attacking Phelim Macgenis, obtained an easy victory over him, making the chief himself prisoner, and putting to death a number of his followers. From thence, continuing his course into Tyrone, he took and burnt the castle of Dungannon, and spread the horrors of fire and war through the whole of that territory.* A. D. 1517.

The little attention paid to Ireland during the first years of Henry's reign, left to a bold and self-willed ruler like Kildare so wide a range of power, and, still worse, of exemption from responsibility, as could not fail to be grossly presumed upon and abused. Of the great lords of the Pale in general, we have more than once had occasion to observe, that, while so unmanageable as subjects, they were no less rash and oppressive as rulers; nor do the instances of earl Gerald and his warlike father form any exception to this general remark, — brute force being the sole instrument of their policy, and conquest, not pacification, their leading object. The very qualities, indeed, that rendered them popular among the natives, were such as unfitted them to be useful or civilising leaders. They were loved for their leaning to the old lawless customs of the land; and having, by marriage, become connected with some of the principal Irish lords, were regarded, in general, rather as chiefs of a great leading sept, than as acknowledged rulers of the whole kingdom.

Another evil attending the position of an Anglo-Irish chief governor was, the jealousy naturally felt of his great influence over his fellow-countrymen, by those functionaries of English birth who found their own authority cast into the shade, and by a power the most offensive to their prejudices and pride. Some secret schemes, arising out of such feelings, had been found by Kildare, in the year 1518, to be actively at work for

* Cox. Ware's *Annals*.

his ruin; but, by a prompt and bold vindication of himself to the king, he succeeded, for a time, in baffling
A. D. the design. In the following year, however, his adver-
1519. saries, reinforced by the aid of Wolsey, who had now reached the full meridian of his unparalleled power, returned openly to the attack, and so far succeeded in their hostile purpose, as to cause Kildare to be summoned to England to answer charges against him for maladministration.* Appointing, by the royal permission, a knight belonging to his own family, sir Thomas Fitz Gerald, of Laccagh, to act as deputy during his absence, the earl hastened over to England, with the view of clearing himself from the serious charges alleged against him.†

In the mean time, attention had been drawn, though as usual, reluctantly, to the condition of Ireland; and, by Wolsey's advice, who deemed it most politic to appoint to the government of that kingdom some English nobleman wholly unconnected with any of its parties or factions, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, the son of the lord who won the great victory of Flod-
1520. den Field‡, was sent thither as lord lieutenant, taking with him only 100 of the king's guard, and 1000 horse and foot. In appointing Surrey to this office, the cardinal is supposed to have accomplished the double object, both of mortifying the man he hated, by depriving Kildare of his government, and removing a rival he dreaded, by sending Surrey to fill his place.

One of the first tasks to which the new lord lieutenant applied himself was that of endeavouring to collect from the servants and Irish followers of Kildare

* In a letter (A.D. 1520) from the king to the lord lieutenant and council, frequent reference is made to the charges against Kildare: — "Shewing furthermore suche conspiracye, as by meanes of the erle of Kildare his servauntes, is daylie there made with the Irishe rebelles ayeinst you." — "As touching the sedicious practices, conspiracies, and subtill driftes of the erle of Kildare, his servauntes, ayders and assisters." — *State Papers*, II.

† Ware's *Annals*.

‡ Pedigree of Howard.—See *Hist. and Antiq. of the Castle and Town of Arundel*, by the Rev. M. A. Tierney. Dr. Lingard, by a slight oversight, makes the hero of Flodden and the lord lieutenant of Ireland the same person.

such loose accusations against him, such half truths mixed with fiction, as might, when artfully put together, assume the semblance of proof. A letter alleged to have been addressed by him to O'Carrol, one of the bravest and most refractory of the Irish chiefs, was, in particular, the object of the lieutenant's inquiry; as in that letter, according to the account he had received of it, the earl had said to his correspondent, "Keep good peace to the Englishmen in Ireland until an English deputy come there. But when any English deputy shall come thither, then do your best to make war upon the English." *

To bring home to Kildare by any evidence, however procured, the charge of having written such a letter, no pains were spared on either side of the Channel; and even Surrey gave in so far to the cruel and treacherous policy by which the counsels of his royal master were too often marked, as to suggest that the earl's secretary, William Delahide, the person in whom he most confided, should be sent to the Tower, and there tortured, to force him to give evidence respecting this letter.†

While, in Ireland, these schemes for his ruin were secretly ripening, Kildare, unconscious, apparently, of his danger, was waiting, in England, the decision of Wolsey, to whom the charges against him had been referred by the king: nor, in the mean time, were there any indications in the manner of his reception at the English court, — notwithstanding the angry tone in which Henry speaks of him in his letters to Surrey ‡,— from which it could be concluded that he was at all in disgrace. On the contrary, at the celebrated interview which took place between Henry and the French monarch, on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, we find Kildare among the train of distinguished noblemen who composed, on

* "Except," he adds, "such as bee towardes me, whom ye know wele your silf."

† Surrey to Wolsey, *S. P.* VII.

‡ "As touching the sedicious practices, conspiracies, and subtill driftes of the erle of Kildare, his servauntes, ayders, and assisters."—Henry VIII. to the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, *S. P.* II.

that occasion, the splendid retinue of the English king. He was also paying, at this time, his addresses to the lady Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the marquis of Dorset, to whom he was afterwards married; and Surrey adverts, in one of his letters, to the rumour current in Ireland of a projected marriage between Kildare and "a kinswoman of the king," as well as to the alarm felt amongst the English lest he should be again sent to assume the government.*

The spirit of the natives had been, in the mean time, kept in check by the earl of Surrey; and the only chieftain of any great mark who had resisted his authority, was Con O'Neill, lord of Tyrone. The lord lieutenant, however, compelled this chief to take refuge in his fastnesses, and at length reduced him to obedience.

With that reckless defiance of all laws, save those of their own fierce will, which so much characterised the noble house of Desmond, the present earl of this title had, not only without the leave of the lord lieutenant, but in direct opposition to his orders, invaded the territories of Cormac Oge and Mac Arthy Reagh, two Irish lords of great power.† These chiefs, however, having formed a league with sir Thomas Desmond, the deadly foe of the earl, advanced to meet the aggressors, and a conflict ensued, in which Cormac's party were completely victorious. The earl's kinsman, sir John Fitz Gerald, was slain on the field, and sir John of Desmond, and others of the Geraldines, wounded and made prisoners; while the loss of troops, on their side, is calculated at eighteen banners of galloglasses, and twenty-four banners of horsemen.‡

This signal defeat of the earl of Desmond, however well merited, was regarded by Surrey as fraught with mischief to the English; for, as the victorious party were mostly natives, this brilliant success, he feared, would lead them and others of their fellow country-

* State Papers, VII. † Ibid.

‡ Under every banner of galloglasses there were generally eighty men, and from twenty to fifty under every banner of horsemen.

men to feel more confidence in their own prowess, and rate less highly the strength and spirit of the English. There was also reason, he thought, to apprehend that Desmond, with a view to repair his disaster, would seek alliance with some of the more powerful Irish captains, and, by the sacrifice of a part of his possessions, secure the means of obtaining revenge.

Between this lord and the earl of Ormond there had prevailed, for some time, dissensions, in which the old feud of their families, during the wars of the two Roses, was, in another shape, revived; the earl of Ormond being a staunch friend to the English interests, while Desmond, from the mixed relationship in which he stood to the two races, combining the aristocracy of the one with the chieftaincy of the other, was alternately trusted and suspected by both parties, and, according as it chanced, was friend or traitor to each, in their turns. By the judicious and amicable management of Surrey, a reconciliation was effected between these two lords; and, at the same time, Cormac Oge and Mac Carthy Reagh bound themselves by pledges to keep peace towards the earl of Desmond. In the account which Surrey himself has given of this transaction, we find the following eulogium on these two Irish chiefs:—"They are two wise men; and I found them more comformable to order than some Englishmen here."* In the same discriminating spirit he suggests that power should be delegated to him to confer the order of knighthood on such of the Irish captains as should appear to him worthy of such a distinction; and the king, in adopting his suggestion, thus creditably extends and improves upon it:—"We grant that ye not only make O'Neal and such lords of the Irishrie as ye shall think good, knights, but also to give unto the said O'Neal a collar of gold of our livery."†

Throughout the remaining period of Surrey's administration, so far were the efforts made by him for the pacification of the kingdom from being attended with

* Surrey to Wolsey, *S. P.* XIII.
† Henry VIII. to Surrey, *S. P.* XII.

any success, that even the faint dawnings of order and peace, that had seemed for a while to arise from the policy pursued by him, were all again clouded and lost; and the settled conclusion to which, as he himself states, his personal knowledge of the country had led him, was, that by conquest alone could the Irish be ever reduced to order or peace; and that to conquer them would, for reasons forcibly stated by him, be difficult, if not wholly impossible.* He was himself, indeed, sufficiently versed in the warfare of the Irish, to enable him to judge on this point, — having been engaged in constant struggles, during his lieutenancy, with the O'Carrols, the O'Moores, the O'Connors, and the Connells; and in the course of a late expedition against these chiefs, one of the bravest of his officers, sir Edward Plunket, lord of Dunsany, fell on the field.

A. D. 1521. Having, for some time, earnestly entreated of the king to release him from his arduous and hopeless charge, and being, moreover, seriously indisposed with a sort of dysentery, then prevalent in Ireland, Surrey was permitted to vacate his office, towards the close of the year 1521; and sir Piers Butler†, his intimate friend and adviser, was appointed lord deputy in his place.

The sudden loss to the inhabitants of the Pale, of a leader so thoroughly possessed of their confidence, was felt the more seriously from his likewise taking away with him the whole of the forces that had accompanied him from England. At the same time, the Scots of the Isles continued to menace invasion; being in league — especially those called the Irish Scots — with certain chiefs of the north of Ireland; and signs of disaffection had already appeared among some of the great native

* "It is not to be dowted, that whensoever the Irishmen shall know that your grace entendith a conqwest, they woll all combyne to gyders, and withstonde the same to the best off their poure."— Surrey to Henry VIII., *S. P.* XX.

† Eighth earl of Ormond; but described by the king, in a letter written about this time, as "pretending himself to be erle of Ormond." In consequence of the earnest wish of sir Thomas Boleyn to possess the title of Ormond, the king had made instances to sir Piers Butler to surrender to Boleyn that earldom; and, after some hesitation, Butler complied with the royal request, and, in lieu of his ancient and rightful title, was created, in the following year, earl of Ossory.

lords. In this state of things, the council of Ireland addressed a petition to Wolsey, praying that, as a means of awing both Scots and Irish, the king would send five or six of his ships to scour the seas between the two countries.* A. D. 1522.

The mutual hatred that had so long subsisted between Kildare and Ormond was by no means abated by the marriage of the latter with Kildare's sister, and broke out with refreshed virulence on the appointment of Ormond to be lord deputy, when one of the first uses of his acquired power was to demolish several castles belonging to his adversary. With the view of composing this unseemly strife, commissioners were sent by the king from England, to make inquiry into the grounds of their variance, to hear the complaints and answers of both parties, and frame articles of peace upon which both could agree. It has been asserted of these commissioners, that they were influenced by partial feelings towards Kildare, having been chosen at the instance of his father-in-law, the marquis of Dorset. Whatever grounds there may be for this notion, it is certain, so favourable to Kildare was the report of the commissioners, that, in a few days after, the earl of Ormond was removed from the government, and his triumphant rival appointed deputy in his stead. The only result, indeed, hitherto, of all the intrigues against this extraordinary man, had been but to prove to the court the extent of his power, and show them how ill they could do without him. 1524.

After taking the oath customary on such an appointment, the new lord deputy, attended by his kinsman, Con O'Neill, who carried before him the sword of state, proceeded to the abbey of St. Thomas, and there entertained the nobles and commissioners at a splendid banquet. †

But this prosperous aspect of Kildare's fortunes was not left long undisturbed. His kinsman, Desmond, who was looking to bolder objects than mere party triumphs,

* State Papers, XXIX. † Ware's *Annals.*

had, in the year 1523, entered into a treaty with the French king, who was then contemplating an invasion of Ireland.* By this compact Desmond bound himself to join that monarch's army, on its landing, with a force of 400 horsemen and 10,000 infantry; and never to lay down his arms until he had conquered a portion of the island for himself, and the remainder for sir Richard de la Pole, who, through his marriage with Margaret, the daughter of George duke of Clarence, was representative of the royal house of York. But this strange alliance, which could only have been resorted to by Francis, as a means of dividing and distracting the English force, appears to have been never again thought of by him; and Desmond was left to bear all the opprobrium of his treason, without reaping any of its expected rewards. Orders were issued to the lord deputy to arrest him, and Kildare marched into Munster for that purpose. But, whether suspicious of some such design, or apprised of it, secretly, as was thought, by the deputy himself, Desmond contrived to elude pursuit; nor could all the efforts of James Butler, and the other enemies of the Geraldines, succeed in effecting his arrest.†

Joining his forces shortly after with those of his kinsman Con O'Neill, Kildare proceeded to attack O'Donnell, the chief of Tyrconnel; but on learning that Hugh O'Neill, the claimant against Con, had risen in Tyrone, they concluded a truce with O'Donnell, and, turning their arms against O'Neill, entirely defeated that chief and slew him.

Meanwhile, it was rumoured that the lord deputy had written to invite his kinsman Desmond to a private

* Francis, says Duchesne (*Hist. d'Angleterre*), " fist alliance au mois de Juin, avec Jacques comte de Desmond, prince Irlandois, qui lui promit, entre autres choses, qu'aussi tost qu'il envoyé des forces dedans l'Irlande, il guerroieroit à personne, et à ses despens, le roy Henry, non seulement pour conquerir en son profit la partie d'Irlande qu'il tenoit, horsmis l'un des ports et chasteaux de Quinque salle, Kore, ou Brudal, qui demeureroit au roi François, pour la conservation de ses navires, mais aussi," &c. &c. The castles whose names are here so successfully disguised were those of Kinsale, Cork, and Youghall.

† Archbishop Inge to Wolsey, *S. P.* XLIV.

interview, and had also engaged the O'Byrnes, a sept of Wicklow, in that lord's service. Every new instance of Kildare's influence over the natives was assumed by the English as a new ground for suspecting and persecuting him; and as proofs were said to be forthcoming of his disloyal correspondence with Desmond, he was now summoned over to England to answer an impeachment on this and other charges. The chief accusations against him were, — 1. That he had not, according to the king's orders, apprehended the earl of Desmond. 2. That he had formed alliance with several of the king's Irish enemies. 3. That he had caused certain loyal subjects to be hanged for no other reason but that they were dependants on the family of the Butlers. 4. That he had confederated with O'Neill, O'Connor, and other Irish lords, to invade the territories of the earl of Ormond, then lord deputy.* A. D. 1526.

From Wolsey, who had always been his enemy, no mercy could be expected by Kildare. He was immediately committed to the Tower, and, according to some accounts, condemned to suffer death. But no faith is to be placed in this statement. Some form of trial must necessarily have preceded his condemnation; and of such an event no record exists. After lying, for some time, in prison, he was at length released by the interposition of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, who, together with the marquis of Dorset, Kildare's father-in-law, and several other persons of high station, became sureties for his future faith and allegiance.

Kildare, on departing for England, had left as his deputy a kinsman of his own, James Fitz Gerald, of Leixlip, who, being suspected, however, of shaping his policy too much with a view to his noble relative's interests, was, in a short time, removed from the government, and Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, was made lord deputy in his place.

It might have been supposed that the absence in England of those two great rivals, Kildare and Or-

* Ware's *Annals*.

mond — the latter of whom had been lately deprived of this title and created earl of Ossory — would have left to lord Delvin a comparatively smooth and unembarrassed tenure of power. But such was by no means the case; for there soon arose out of the absence of these two noblemen a greater danger than ever could result from their presence; as both the Irish and English rebels, presuming on the want of any strong hand to control them, were preparing on all sides to rise in open revolt: and a daring act committed by O'Connor, chief of Offaley, had set such an example of bold and lawless defiance as spread consternation throughout the whole Pale.

To this O'Connor, as well as to the other chiefs bordering upon the Pale, it had long been a custom of the English settlers, as unwise as it was degrading, to pay annual pensions, or tributes, as a means of buying off their hostility, and securing exemption from their inroads.* In consequence, however, of some depredations committed by the present chief of Offaley, his wages, or Black Rent, as it was called, had been, of late, withheld; and, on his remonstrating against this act, a parley was appointed to be held between him and the vice-deputy, at a castle belonging to sir William Darcy, called Rathyn. It became soon, however, apparent, that peaceful parley was by no means the object of O'Connor; for, immediately on the meeting taking place, a party of his followers, whom he had posted in ambush, sallied out upon the lord deputy, and, after killing and wounding several of his attendants, made that lord himself prisoner.†

A. D. 1528.

This daring act of treachery excited alarm throughout the whole English settlement; and the council of Ireland, reluctantly availing themselves of the popularity

* A still worse and more recreant practice had become frequent at this period, which is thus described in a letter from Norfolk to Wolsey:—"The most part of the marchers upon Irishe men, perceyving not how to be defended, have so patysed (practised) with the Irishe men next adjoyning to them, that the seide Irishe men do come thorow them, and do hurt to others within them, and they take no hurt."—*S. P.* LI.

† The Council of Ireland to Wolsey, *S. P.* XLV.

of the name of Kildare, chose his brother, sir Thomas Fitz Gerald, to fill the imprisoned deputy's place. Meanwhile, efforts were made, but wholly in vain, to prevail upon O'Connor to give lord Delvin his liberty; and a letter is extant, from lord Butler to archbishop Inge *, giving an account of his passing a night under O'Connor's roof, and obtaining, with difficulty, a short interview with the noble prisoner, during which the chieftain and his two brothers insisted on being present. In order to guard, too, against any secrets that might pass between them, the two friends were compelled to speak openly and in Irish. It was strongly suspected that in all these violent proceedings O'Connor was secretly abetted by Kildare, to one of whose daughters the chief was married.†

Nor was it only between the settlers and the natives that the game of strife was thus, as usual, in full play. The feuds of the English among themselves were no less bitterly carried on; and not only did Desmond and Ossory still maintain their mutual strife, but the family of the latter lord were divided into fierce factions among themselves; and both Edmund Butler, archbishop of Cashel, the natural son of lord Ossory, and sir James Butler, another of this lord's kinsmen, were among the most staunch and vehement abettors of the earl of Desmond.‡

Among those personages of high station, to whom, in the usual rapid succession, the administration of the government of Ireland was deputed, during this reign, there appears to have been none in whom the condition, both present and future, of that country had inspired so earnest, and, according to the lights of his time, intelligent an interest, as in the worthy duke of Norfolk, who, when earl of Surrey, was lord lieutenant, as we have seen, of that kingdom, and retained ever after the strong hold he had gained on the affections

* State Papers, XLVII.

† O'Connor married lady Mary Fitz Gerald, Kildare's daughter by his first wife.

‡ State Papers, LIII.

of the Anglo-Irish, as well as his own earnest desire to promote among them good government and peace.

As the opinions of so active and trusty a public officer, respecting a state of affairs with which he was himself personally conversant, cannot fail to possess considerable interest, a few remarks, which occur in his letters and official papers, may here be appropriately noticed. It was Surrey's opinion, as expressed by himself in a letter to Wolsey, that "this land (Ireland) will never be brought to due obeisance, but only with compulsion and conquest;"* and he adds, "most humbly I beseech your grace that, if the king's pleasure be not to go thorough with the conquest of this land, which would be a marvellous charge, no longer to suffer me to waste his grace's treasure here." In reference to this opinion, the king, in writing to his lieutenant, desires him to state "by what means and ways that land could be reduced to obedience and good order;" and it is observable that Surrey's answer, while professing to comply with the royal command, dwells far more on the obstacles in the way of such an enterprise, than on any means he is able to suggest for its accomplishment. Among the difficulties which he foresees in his scheme, that of stocking the land anew with inhabitants, after the destruction of its whole indigenous race, — for on nothing less does this military speculator seem to calculate, — appears to strike him as the most puzzling. At the very time, too, when the English monarch and his minister were thus coolly inquiring into the means of exterminating the Irish, it appears from a statement in one of Surrey's letters that there were then "but few English inhabitants in the four shires of the Pale." †

With all his bias against the natives in general, the noble lieutenant could yet do justice to individual Irishmen. We have seen how favourable was his opinion of the two great chiefs, Cormac Oge and Mac Arthy

* State Papers, XV.
† Surrey to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* XX.

Reagh; and, in speaking of the readiness of these lords to hold their lands from the king, he adds, "I know divers other Irishmen of like mind." Even when removed from the government of Ireland, Surrey was frequently applied to by the lords of the Irish council, either for his advice in particular emergencies, or the exertion of his interest and influence with the king.

In the month of June, this year, the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, was appointed lieutenant of Ireland; and, shortly after, sir William Skeffington, the new lord deputy, arrived in Dublin, accompanied by the earl of Kildare. A solemn procession of the mayor and citizens came to meet them, on the green of St. Mary's abbey; and the sight of the popular favourite, Kildare, returning once more, triumphant over his enemies, excited among all classes the liveliest feelings of joy. A. D. 1530.

It is a proof, indeed, how powerful was, even then, the Irish party, — for such Kildare's may fairly be called, — that, though having against him the crown, the ministers, and most of the English nobility of both countries, he yet thus triumphed over them all; and, by the mere force of the will of the Irish, was restored to his high station. He had been charged openly, by his rival Ossory, with offences amounting to high treason. Not only was the treacherous seizure of the lord deputy alleged to have been planned between him and his son-in-law, O'Connor, but also a general rising of the natives, for the extirpation of the English Pale *, was said in like manner to have been concerted by him, to follow that daring outrage. Under such enormous charges, had he been sustained by the favour of the court or the minister, the impunity with which he continued to defy his accusers would not have been so

* "After the taking of the baron of Delvyn, tretowrously, by the erle of Kildare's son in lawe Oconour, all the Irishry determyned to have joyned in ayd with the said Oconour, for the distruction of your English Pale, through the practise of the said Erle, trustyng that your grace therby wolbe moved to relesse him of his duress, and to send him to rule here agayne."— Ossory to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* XLIX.

remarkable. But this was by no means Kildare's case: in the eyes of an autocrat, like Henry, so blunt and self-willed a servant was not likely to make himself acceptable; nor would the cardinal, who is known to have hated the whole race of the Geraldines, see reason to exempt from the range of this feeling the too popular and ungovernable Kildare.

No stronger evidence, indeed, is wanting of the resistless force of this lord's Irish popularity, than the fact that Wolsey, though sure of being supported by all the first English and Anglo-Irish nobles, yet did not venture, during the two or three years of Kildare's detention in England, to deprive him of his office of lord deputy; — being apprehensive, as he himself states, that such an act of authority would, at that crisis, be attended with serious danger; and that, if the earl's "kinsfolks, the O'Connors, and other such wild Irish lords," should learn that he was actually deprived of his office, they would, "for revenge thereof, overrun the whole English bounds and Pale." * He therefore recommends, as the only expedient for keeping them quiet, that they should be still left in the hope of their favourite's return; adding, as a further advantage of this policy, the restraint it would impose on Kildare himself, who being, as lord deputy, responsible for the peace of the kingdom, would endeavour to prevent any such outbreaks, on the part of his adherents, as might furnish fresh grounds for his own impeachment and disgrace.

Even Norfolk, though boasting the blood of the hero of Flodden in his veins, and likewise acquainted, by personal experience, with Irish warfare, was hardly less anxious than Wolsey himself to avoid provoking that people into resistance; and, in one of his letters to the cardinal, after remarking that "the Irishmen were never so strong as now," he admits that the only remedy which appears to him feasible is, either to send thither Kildare himself, or, at least, to continue his brother James in the government.

* Wolsey to Vannes, *S. P.* XLIX.

The sort of compromise that would naturally arise out of this balance of difficulties, has been seen in the appointment of sir William Skeffington to be lord deputy, attended by Kildare, as, professedly, his adviser, but, in reality, his powerful rival, and destined successor.* An invasion of O'Moore's territory, then called Leix, or Ley, to punish that chief, for some acts of hostility, was the first achievement of the new lord deputy; and shortly after, accompanied by Kildare, he made an inroad into Ulster, where, having taken and demolished the castle of Kinard, they laid waste the neighbouring districts, and returned laden with spoil. A. D. 1531.

But, while thus, apparently, acting in concert, these rival leaders were every day becoming more rancorous towards each other; and both, eager to preoccupy the king on the subject of their differences, sent off letters and messengers to England charged with mutual criminations. At length, impatient of thus bandying reproaches, and confident in his own personal influence, Kildare set sail for England, and there pleaded his suit so successfully, that he caused Skeffington to be removed from the government, and himself appointed in his place. 1532.

Received in Dublin with acclamations, on his return, and presuming too sanguinely on the new turn of his fortunes, Kildare now threw himself, without any reserve, into Irish alliances and connections; gave one of his daughters in marriage to O'Connor, of Offaley, and the other to Fergananym O'Carrol, — both of these chiefs obstinate enemies of the crown of England †;— and, falling with his army on the county of Kilkenny, burned and wasted the lands of his rival, the earl of Ossory. About the same time, Con O'Neill, at his instigation, joined with him and his brother James in an

* According to Ossory, Kildare's object, at this time, was to "compell the Irishe to combynde and confedre with him, having noo regard to the kinge's deputie, and to make all the land beleve the deputie is sent but oonly to bee an instrument to him."

† Ware's *Annals*.

invasion of the county of Louth, where, having burned down the English villages, they ravaged and depopulated the country, and drove away all the cattle.

Another petty war, of the same description, in which the lord deputy, about this time, engaged, was attended with consequences that threatened danger to his life. In the course of a violent feud which had broken out in the family of his son-in-law, O'Carrol, the castle
A. D. of Bir, belonging to this chief, had been seized by the
1533. adverse party; and Kildare undertook, on the side of his kinsman, to lay siege to and recover the castle. But, while directing, in person, an attack upon it, he received a bullet-shot in the side *, from the serious effects of which he never after, it is said, entirely recovered.

While the lord deputy pursued thus fearlessly his usual self-willed course, he was surrounded by watchful enemies, who lost no opportunity of reporting to the king exaggerated accounts of all that was eccentric in his conduct; and among the most bitter of these spies was his old enemy Ossory, who, being in correspondence with Cromwell, then rising fast in the king's favour, enjoyed thus a channel through which his charges could be levelled with sure effect. The son of this earl, lord James Butler, had, on Kildare's appointment to the government, received the staff of lord high treasurer, as some counterbalance to the deputy's power; and, accordingly, though nephew to Kildare, he employed all the means in his power, as well by intrigue as openly and officially, to embarrass the course of his kinsman's government. Sir William Skeffington, having been supplanted by the present lord deputy, was another of his most unforgiving opponents; and the Irish council, in sending John Alen, the master of the rolls, to represent to the king the dangers and grievances of Ireland, were supposed at the same time to have pri-

* "My lord of Kildare was shott with a hand gon thorow the syde, under the ribbes, and so lyeth in great danger."—Walter Cowley to Cromwell, *S. P.* LXII.

vately instructed him to lay serious charges of misgovernment against Kildare.

To maintain his ground against so powerful a combination, unsupported, as he was, by any of the great English families, appeared hardly possible ; and yet that some desperate attempt at resistance was at one time meditated by him, is rendered highly probable by his having recently furnished his castles and fastnesses — more especially those of Maynooth and Ley — with guns, pikes, and ammunition out of the royal stores.* The general prevalence, too, of a belief, in Ireland, that he would defy any order recalling him from his government, is shown by a passage in a letter from Ossory to Cromwell: — "Men think here," says the writer, "that all the parchment and wax in England will not bring Kildare thither again."†

This experiment, however, was now about to be tried. In consequence of the many public, and, still more, the private, complaints made of his government, the lord deputy was summoned, about the close of this year, to repair to England, and answer the charges alleged against him. Though far from manifesting, as had been apprehended, any disposition to resist this order, the earl procrastinated his departure ; sent his countess before him into England, in the hope that her influence might avert the royal displeasure ; and at length, with an unwillingness that seemed to foretoken the dark fate which hung over him and his noble house, sailed for England in the spring of the year, leaving, as vice-deputy, his son, lord Thomas Fitz Gerald, a youth who had scarcely reached his one-and-twentieth year. A. D. 1534.

In the instructions given to Alen by the council of Ireland, empowering him to inform the king of the state of his Irish dominions, we find some facts alleged which are worthy of special notice. It appears, so narrowed at this time was the extent of the English authority, that, as the instructions express it, "neither

* Ware's *Annals*. Cox. † Instructions to Cromwell, *S. P.* LIX.

the English order, tongue, nor habit, was used, nor the king's laws obeyed, above twenty miles in compass *;" and the council declare it to be their opinion, that, unless the laws be duly executed, the "little place," meaning the Pale, "which is now obedient," will be reduced to the same condition as the remainder of the kingdom.

Among the causes assigned for this rapid decay of the land, that to which the council attributes most influence was the practice adopted, of late, among the Englishrie, of taking Irish tenants. Hence the race, they say, of English husbandmen had declined, and instead of a retinue of respectable yeomen who lived under their lord's roof, there was now substituted a rabble of horsemen and kerns, supported by exaction from the king's subjects. The other abuses by which they account for the decline of English power, are, — 1. The liberties and royalties enjoyed by a few absolute lords. 2. The black rents and tributes extorted by the Irish. 3. The frequent change of deputies, and the appointment to that office of native lords. 4. The negligent keeping of the king's records, to the great injury of the royal revenues and rights. 5. The alienation of the crown lands, by which the king's revenue had been rendered insufficient for the defence of the realm.

A report was transmitted, apparently about the same time, to Cromwell, which, even allowing for all deduction from the weight of its statements on account of the party spirit so evidently pervading it, presents a most frightful picture of the general state of the kingdom. To Kildare, and the "allegiance" borne towards him, almost superseding the loyalty due to the crown itself †, the writers attribute most of the wrongs

* Instructions to John Alen, *S. P.* LXIII.

† The sort of fascination, made up of dread and affection, by which all classes were held in thrall by Kildare, is thus described in this report: — "If the said counsaile were present here, I would not faile to say before them, in tyme and place, if the caas so required, that they be partely corrupted with affection toward the erle of Kildare, and partely in soche dreade of him, that either they will not or dare not do any thing that should be displeasante to him." — *State Papers*, LXIV.

and enormities of which they complain. Among other instances adduced of the daring spirit of the Irish, the report mentions, that Edmund Oge O'Brian, who had never ceased for nearly a year to make active war upon the Englishrie, had, within the last five weeks, made forcible entry, by night, into the castle of Dublin, and carried away from thence prisoners and plunder; — an act which had filled the citizens of Dublin with such dismay, that they nightly kept watch in the fear of a repetition of his visit.

The occupation by the Scots of a great part of Ulster, thereby encroaching on the king's inheritance, is another of the evils complained of by the authors of this report; and, they add, so fast was the number of these intruders increasing, that fears were entertained, lest, with the aid of the rebellious Irish, they would succeed in dislodging the king from his seignory in that province. Complaints are also made of the increasing encroachments of the O'Brians, owing to a bridge lately built by them over the Shannon, whereby they had already "in a manner subdued all the English thereto joining, and specially the country of Limerick." It is added that, "unless that bridge be in haste laid prostrate," the O'Brians may be expected, before long, to encroach still further upon the territory of the English.

In reference to the opinions of such persons as set but slight value on the possession of Ireland, and spoke of the rudeness and want of civilisation among the people, the report advances the following just and liberal remark: —"As to their surmise of the bruteness of the people, and the incivilitie of them; no doubt, if there were justice used among them, they would be found as civil, wise, politic, and active as any other nation." *

In another report on the state of Ireland †, drawn up subsequently, as it appears, to that just noticed, and

* State Papers, LXIV.

† Articleis and Instructions to our Soweraine Lord the King for his Lande of Ireland, *S. P.* LXIX.

addressed to the king himself, there occur some curious insights into the actual condition of the country. So powerful, it is stated, had the great Anglo-Irish lords now become, that in none of those shires where the earls of Kildare, Desmond, or Ossory "held dominion," could offences committed by the king's subjects be taken cognisance of, nor any measures adopted to seize the offenders, without permission from the lord to whom such seignory or palatinate belonged; so that, as the report expresses it, "your grace must make petition to every of the said earls, for leave to invade your own subjects." The earl of Desmond alone, and his kinsmen, possessed, for their share, the counties of Kerry, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford; from none of which shires did the king derive "a single groat of yearly profit or revenues," nor in any one of them were his laws observed or executed; though, as the report adds, a period had been, when those same shires "were as obedient to his laws as Middlesex is now."

Of the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, which the earl of Ossory had under his dominion, much the same account is given, with the addition, that the wretched people of those shires were harassed and oppressed by exactions of coyne and livery; and the county of Wexford, which was held, with similar rights and royalties, by the earl of Shrewsbury, lay, in the same manner, out of the reach of the king's laws, and was equally unproductive to the royal revenue.

Among other charges brought in this report against the three great Anglo-Irish earls, it is stated that, availing themselves of the old Irish custom, called coshery, which entitled the chief lord, or dynast, to exact from his tenants provisions and lodging for himself and his retinue, they used "to come, with a great multitude of people, to monasteries and gentlemen's houses, and there continue two days and two nights, taking meat and drink at their pleasure;" while, at the same time, their horses and servants were quartered upon the poor farmers of the neighbourhood, and nothing paid for

their entertainment. In this manner, it is added, these lords were accustomed to pass more than half the year, making use of other people's houses, and sparing their own.

The conclusion drawn by the framers of this curious document, from the various facts they had collected, is, that though popular opinion attributes to the "wild Irish lords and captains the destruction of the land of Ireland, it is not they only, but the treason, rebellion, extortion, and wilful war of the aforesaid earls and other English lords," that are to be held answerable for all this ruin; and, in counselling the king as to the means to be adopted for the cure of these evils, they say, pointedly, "When your grace has reformed your earls, English lords, and others your subjects, then proceed to the reformation of your Irish rebels."

At the time of the framing of this report, Kildare's son, the young lord Thomas, had just entered on his office of vice-deputy; and a strong anxiety is expressed by the writers, that some deputy of English birth, and appointed for life, or, at least, for a term of years, should be sent to Ireland without delay, as the deputy left by Kildare is "taken to be young and wilful, and mostly, to this time, ordered by light counsel."

However amiable may have been the natural qualities of this young lord, — and he is represented, in general, as brave, open, and generous, — the scenes of violence among which he had been brought up, and the examples of ambition, family pride, and uncontrolled self-will, which his own ill-fated race supplied, formed but an ominous preparation for the grave duties now so rashly assigned to him. In addition to the perils arising from his own utter inexperience, he was surrounded by watchful enemies, full of hatred to him and his race; and the opportunity which alone they wanted for the indulgence of this rancorous feeling, their ingenuity was, of course, not slow in creating. A report was spread by them that the earl of Kildare had been beheaded in the Tower, and that lord Thomas and all

his uncles were menaced with the same fate.* Too readily trusting to this rumour, the young lord, at the head of a guard of 140 armed horsemen, rode through the city of Dublin to Dame's Gate, and, crossing the river, proceeded to St. Mary's Abbey, where the council, according to appointment, waited his coming. There, surrounded by armed followers, who had crowded with him into the council chamber, the youth solemnly renounced his allegiance to the English monarch, and proceeded to deliver up the sword and robes of state.

In vain did Cromer, the lord chancellor, who had been indebted to Kildare for his promotion to that dignity, implore of him, with tears, to revoke his purpose, and still retain the sword of state. The young Geraldine stood unmoved; while, just at that moment, there burst forth from the midst of his excited followers, the voice of an Irish bard, or rhymer, chanting the praises of the "silken lord," —for so lord Thomas, from the richness of his caparisons, was styled, — and calling passionately upon him to revenge his father's death. From that moment, all further parley was at an end; the youth cast from him the sword of state, and, rushing forth at the head of his wild followers, entered upon that rash and ill-concerted struggle, which ended in the ruin of himself and of almost the whole of his kindred.†

The first step taken by the council was to send orders to the mayor to arrest lord Thomas; but, as the city had been lately much depopulated by a plague then raging in town and country, the public authorities feared to venture upon such a step; and archbishop Allen, chief baron Finglas, and one or two other personages, obnoxious to the Geraldines, retired for safety to the castle. In this almost defenceless state of Dublin, the O'Tooles and other mountain septs of Wicklow, taking advantage of the weakness of the inhabitants, overran and despoiled the rich territory of Fingal. But this aggression was not left wholly

* Stanihurst, ap. Holinshed. † Ibid.

unresisted; for, on seeing the granary of their city thus insolently plundered, such of the inhabitants as were able to bear arms sallied out to intercept the prey. Being overpowered, however, with numbers, they were driven back, and many of their small force slain.*

Though, from the city, thus weakened by pestilence and the sword, no effective effort was to be expected, the castle, under the command of its constable, sir John White, gave promise of a lengthened resistance; and as the possession of such a post was an object of importance to Fitz Gerald, he announced to the citizens, now panic-struck with their late defeat, that if they would permit him to enter the town and lay siege to the castle, both themselves and their properties should be left uninjured. This proposal was referred by the citizens to the constable, who, after some conferences with them, agreed that, in consideration of their helpless condition, the demand should be complied with; only stipulating that he should first be supplied with men and provisions sufficient to enable him to stand a siege.†

It may well be conceived that, by all those personages who had taken refuge, together with the archbishop, in the castle, the prospect of a siege which might end in delivering them up to the rebels was viewed with horror and dismay; and Allen‡, who, more than any, had reason to dread the hate of the Geraldines, having resolved to make his escape to England, embarked at night on board a vessel which was then lying near Dame's Gate. But, whether through accident or design, the ship was stranded near Clontarf, and the unfortunate archbishop, falling into the hands of the rebels at a small village called Artane, whither he had fled for shelter, was there in the most brutal manner put to death; — lord Thomas himself standing by, during the mur-

* Stanihurst. † Ibid.

‡ This prelate was the compiler of that venerable volume, the *Black Book of Christ-Church*, and also of the *Repertorium Viride*, which is likewise still extant.

der, and in so far authorising the base and cold-blooded crime. There were likewise present, it appears, his two uncles, sir John and Oliver Fitz Gerald.

Leaving a part of his force to lay siege to the castle, the young lord hastened with the main body of his numerous followers to invade the country of the earl of Ossory. But this active and watchful officer had already, in anticipation of his movement, occupied, with a large force suddenly raised, the counties of Catherlough and Kildare; and the taking by storm, after a siege of five days, an old manor-house on the Slaney, belonging to the Ormond family, was the sole result of this first trial of the young Geraldine's strength. With the hope of prevailing upon Ossory to join his standard, he despatched messengers to that powerful lord, offering to divide with him equally the kingdom of Ireland, if he would withdraw his allegiance from the king. To this proposition Ossory answered, that, "even were his country all laid waste, his castles won or prostrate, and himself an exile, he would yet to the last persevere in duty to his king." *

A material change had meanwhile taken place in the state of affairs in Dublin. Owing to an alleged infraction of faith on the part of the force admitted to lay siege to the castle, that permission was suddenly withdrawn by the citizens; their gates were immediately closed upon the rebels, and almost all found within the walls were arrested as traitors. †

When the news of this unprosperous turn of affairs reached lord Thomas, he was about to proceed, assisted by the forces of O'Connor, O'Moore, and other chiefs, to invade the county of Kilkenny; while the earl of Desmond, with similar hostile views, was threatening an irruption into Tipperary. When lord Thomas, therefore, anxious to recover the ground he had lost in Dublin, and, above all, to obtain possession of the ordnance of the castle ‡, proposed a truce for a

* Ossory to W. Cowley, *S. P.* XCIII. † Stanihurst.

‡ "The rebell hath in effecte consumed all his shoot; and, except he

short time, to Ossory, that lord, whose immediate object was to oppose his entire force to the inroad of Desmond, readily assented to the arrangement. This point having been gained, Fitz Gerald directed his march to Dublin. But so fully prepared did he find the inhabitants for resistance, — their spirits having been cheered by an encouraging message from the king, — that both in an assault made by him on the castle from Ship Street, and also an attempt to enter the city by Newgate, he was entirely foiled by the skill and bravery of the townsmen.

Among his army were a number of inhabitants of the Pale, on whom, as compulsory followers of his standard, the citizens counted as secretly friends to their cause. In this cheering hope they were further confirmed, on finding that the arrows shot over the walls were most of them without heads, and that some even conveyed letters giving information of the besiegers' designs. These encouraging circumstances led them to resolve upon a sally; and, having given out from the walls that new succours had arrived from England, they rushed forth, through fire and flame, on the ranks of the enemy, who, judging from this boldness that the rumoured reinforcements had actually arrived, immediately fled, leaving one hundred of their galloglasses slain, and most of their cannon in the hands of the citizens. Fitz Gerald himself lay hid all night at the Friary in Francis Street*, and from thence escaped, at break of day, to his camp.

In addition to this serious check, he also learned that the earl of Ossory was overrunning, with a large force, the counties of Catherlough and Kildare, and forcibly dislodging from their lands and homes the adherents of the Geraldines in that quarter. He was therefore readily disposed to enter into a truce with the citizens,

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wynneth the castell of Dublin, he is destitute of shoote, which is a gret cumforte and advantage for the kinge's army." — J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* LXXVII.

* Stanihurst. Harris, *Hist. of Dublin.*

and the following were the terms proposed by him : — 1. That they should release such of his men as they had taken prisoners. 2. That the city should pay him 1000*l.* in money, and 500*l.* in wares. 3. That they should furnish him with ammunition and artillery. 4. That they should procure the king's pardon both for him and his followers, and moreover obtain for him the deputation of the government of Ireland for life.*

To the first of these propositions — which, considering the defeat the noble negotiator had just sustained, was not a little unconscionable — the citizens answered, that, if he would restore to them their children, they would most readily give him back his men. This natural retort had reference to an outrage committed by Fitz Gerald, in his late march upon Dublin, when, meeting on his way, as he approached the town, a number of children belonging to the better class of citizens, who had been removed, in consequence of the plague, into the country, he took them all prisoners, and, as appears from this answer, still continued to keep them confined.

To the second and third articles it was significantly answered, that, so impoverished were they by his rebellions, they could spare neither money nor wares ; and that if he purposed, as he said, to return to his allegiance, he would have no need of ammunition or artillery. They also added, that, instead of artillery to be employed against his prince, he ought rather to have asked for parchment whereon to ingross his own pardon.†

Such is the account, as transmitted from historian to historian, of the leading particulars of this memorable siege, as well as of the parley that followed ; — the latter terminating, we are told, in the acceptance of the terms of the citizens by lord Thomas. There are good grounds, however, for distrusting most of these generally received details ; and all we can learn from official records is, that the armistice was to last for six days ; that the citizens, in the event of their failing to obtain for Fitz

* Stanihurst. † Ibid.

Gerald the king's pardon, and the office of deputy for his life, were, on a certain day, to deliver up to him the city; and that three of the most eminent of their body should be given as hostages for the performance of this agreement.*

It was about this time that the sentence of excommunication, in its most vengeful and tremendous form, was issued against lord Thomas, and his uncles John and Oliver, for the cruel murder of Allen, archbishop of Dublin.† A copy of this tremendous curse was transmitted, we are told, to the lieutenant of the Tower, for the cruel purpose of being shown to Kildare, who was then confined there a prisoner. But the wretched earl was probably spared the infliction of this pang; as it appears that, on receiving the first intelligence of his son's rebellion, he was so struck to the heart with the news, being already afflicted with palsy, that his death followed soon after.

The new lord deputy, sir William Skeffington, who landed at Dublin soon after the truce concluded with lord Thomas, was in so infirm a state of health on his arrival, as to be unable, for some time, to take the field; and not only himself, but almost the whole of his army and officers, lay, for a considerable time, shut up and inactive, within the walls of Dublin and Drogheda.‡ Meanwhile, there raged throughout the whole kingdom a confused medley of petty warfare, in which, from the consanguinity of the Geraldine families with both of the rival races, the rebel camp was filled with a motley array of English and Irish; while, on the royal side,

* State Papers, LXXVIII.

† State Papers, LXXXI. The following extract will give some notion of the awful violence of this curse:— "We invocate, and call in vengeance against the said Thomas, and every of the persons aforesaid, the celestial place of heaven, with all the multitude of the angels, that they be accursed before them, and in their sight, as spirits condemned; and the devil to stand and be, in all their doings, on their right hand; and all their acts to be sinful, and not acceptable before God, . . . that God Almighty may rain upon them the flames of fire and sulphur to their eternal vengeance; and that they may clothe themselves with the maledictions and high curse, as they daily clothe themselves with their garments."

‡ J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* LXXXII.

the greater number of the northern chieftains had ranged themselves under the flag of loyalty and the English.

Presuming upon Skeffington's inactivity, the "traitor," as Fitz Gerald was commonly styled, accompanied by a force of not more than 100 horsemen and about 300 kerns and galloglasses, traversed daringly the territories of the Pale, — now presenting himself before Trim, from whence, having burned down a great part of the town, he carried away numbers of cattle; now laying siege to Dunboyne, within but a few miles of Dublin, and, after a defence prolonged for some days by the inhabitants, who had in vain applied to head-quarters for succour, entirely burning and destroying the town. This outrage, committed within a few miles of the seat of government, the lord deputy suffered to pass without any punishment, and even entered into a truce with the young rebel, — "which, as meseemeth," adds a contemporary writer, "was nothing honorable."

Small and precarious as were his resources, Fitz Gerald's cause now assumed an appearance of success, which, though dependent for its chance of continuance on the mere pleasure of the government, was sufficiently specious to deceive himself and all the more sanguine of his followers. Presuming on this confident feeling, he declared openly his intention to burn down Trim, Athboy, the Howan, Naas, and other corporate towns, lest the English should plant garrisons or establish store-houses for provisions in those places. With the same view, and by the advice of his chief ally, O'Moore, he threatened to raze to the ground his own garrisons in Kildare, lest, as he said, "Englishmen should have any profit of them."*

We have already seen, in the course of this reign, an earl of Desmond applying for aid to foreign powers †;

* J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* LXXXII.

† Earl James, the eleventh earl, who twice engaged in a treaty with foreign powers against Henry VIII., — in 1523 with the king of France, and in 1523 with the emperor. His uncle Thomas, the twelfth earl, who succeeded him, at an advanced age, in the year 1529, was strongly suspected of also holding a treasonous intercourse with the emperor. "This instant day," says the writer of a letter among the State Pa-

and now, again, in lord Thomas Fitz Gerald, we find another heir of a great Anglo-Irish family turning his eyes to foreign shores with a like hostile feeling towards England. He had already, with this view, appointed the official of Meath, who was one of the divines that formed his council, to embark at Sligo, in a Spanish ship, for Spain, and thence proceed to Rome; taking along with him a number of old muniments and precedents, for the purpose of proving that the English king held Ireland of the see of Rome. He was also instructed to request of the emperor and the bishop of Rome to assist lord Thomas in defence of the faith against the king of England; in return for which he would solemnly pledge himself to hold of those powers the realm of Ireland, and to pay tribute for it yearly. *

While the hopes of Fitz Gerald's adherents were kept alive by this prospect of foreign aid, his own garrisons at Maynooth, Portlester, Rathangan, Lea, and other places, afforded him the means, if properly managed, of maintaining his ground till such aid from abroad should arrive; and all his substance, wealth, and most of his ordnance, had been removed by him into the castle of Lea. He counted but few of the great chiefs among his supporters; and even of these there were some now threatening to withdraw their aid, while all the chief Irish lords of the north, with the exception only of O'Neill, had written letters to the lord deputy, proffering their allegiance.† Even that restless sept, the O'Tooles of Wicklow, who, according to some accounts,

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pers, "report is made by the viker of Dongarvan, that themprour hath sent certain letters unto therle of Desmound, by the same chapleyn or embassadour, that was sent unto James. the late erle; and the common bruyt is that his practice is to wyn the Geraltynes and the Breenes, and that themprour entendeth shortly to send an army to invade the citees and townes by the see coostes of this land."—Wise to Crumwell, *S. P.* LXXIV.

* J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* LXXXII.

† "Meny letters have bene sent from the Irisshe men to my lord deputie of ther good myndes towerd the kynge's grace; notwithstanding the borderers, as Oconer, Oraillie, and other, have much robbed the countrie seth oure landyng. There is not oon of them but that will take his advantage, when he seeth his time, albeit now they withdrawe them selffes from the traytor."—Brabazon to Crumwell, *S. P.* LXXXIII.

had fought against the citizens during the late siege of Dublin, were now ranged on the loyal side. Among those, too, really opposed to lord Thomas, were a great number that had not yet openly declared themselves, through a fear that his rebellion would be ultimately pardoned, as had been those of his father, grandfather, and others of his ancestors, and that all who had opposed him would be left helplessly exposed to his vengeance.*

A. D. 1535. In this state of the public mind, sir William Skeffington, who was now sufficiently recovered in health to take the field at the head of his army, laid siege to the castle of Maynooth, which Fitz Gerald had just put into a state of defence. So strongly, indeed, had he fortified it, both with men and ordnance, that, if we may credit sir William's boastful account of the siege, nothing equal to it in strength had been seen in Ireland since the English first held dominion in the land.†

In the full hope that this powerful castle would, if attacked, be able to hold out until his return, lord Thomas had hastened to inspect the state of his five other strongholds, Rathangan, Catherlough, Portlester, Lea, and Athy; and then proceeded, with the view of collecting fresh partisans, into Connaught. He had been led, however, to count too confidently, as well upon the strength of the fortress of Maynooth, as on the continued delay and inaction of the lord deputy, who, now conscious that loss of character, as well as of time, was to be retrieved by him, left Dublin on the 13th of March, and on the following day commenced the siege of Maynooth.‡

After repeated attacks, day and night, during the space of nine days, a breach was at last opened into the base-court of the castle, through which, on the following day, after a grand assault, the besiegers entered, slaying about sixty of the ward of the castle, and losing but a yeoman of the king's guard, together with six

* J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* LXXXII.

† The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Henry VIII., *S. P.* LXXXVII.

‡ "Maynooth was accounted," says Lodge, "for the abundance of its furniture, one of the richest houses under the crown of England."

others killed in the assault.* This important position having been thus gained, the castle itself, after a short resistance, surrendered; there being then within its walls the dean of Kildare, the captain of the garrison, Christopher Paris, together with Donagh O'Dogan, master of the ordnance, sir Simon Walsh, priest, and Nicholas Wafer, one of those servants of the earl of Kildare who waylaid and murdered archbishop Alen. These, with some archers and gunners, amounting to the number of about thirty-seven, were all taken prisoners, and their lives spared until the lord deputy and his council should have inquired into and pronounced judgment upon their offences.†

On the Thursday following, the prisoners were examined, and their several depositions taken; and in the afternoon of the same day, being arraigned before the provost marshal and the captains, they were, on their own confession, condemned to die. Twenty-five of their number were beheaded in front of the castle, while one was hanged; and the heads of all the chief persons were immediately placed on the castle turrets. Among other intelligence obtained from the prisoners, it was deposed by a priest, not named, in whom Fitz Gerald placed much confidence, that the emperor had promised to send him 10,000 men by the first day of May, and that the Scottish monarch had also engaged to furnish the rebels with aid.‡

In the mean time, lord Thomas, having, with the help of his relative, O'Connor, succeeded in collecting a considerable army in Connaught, was hastening with his force to the relief of Maynooth, when the gloomy news of the fate of that garrison reached him, and, spreading

* By all our historians, the surrender of Maynooth to sir William Skeffington is attributed to the treachery of the governor of the castle, Christopher Paris. But neither for this charge, nor for any of the anecdotes grafted upon it, does there appear to be any foundation in our official records. Of this, indeed, as well as of many other such tales foisted into our history, the source may obviously be traced to the dull inventions of Stanihurst.

† State Papers, LXXXVII.

‡ Ibid.

rapidly from thence to his partisans, throughout the kingdom, struck such a damp at once into the spirit of his cause, as it never after entirely recovered. The large tumultuary force he had collected now daily dwindled away; till, at length, when compelled to seek for refuge in O'Brian's country, a small train of gentlemen, yeomen, and priests, to the number of about sixteen, formed the whole of his escort. His first intention had been to sail from thence to Spain, to solicit assistance from the emperor. But this plan he afterwards abandoned; and, sending as his envoys to the imperial court, sir James de la Hyde and a priest named Walsh, resolved to await the chance of events; his hope being that he should find himself able, with the aid of foreign or Scottish auxiliaries, to take the field in the ensuing midsummer; when, by a combined movement, in which O'Connor, O'Neill, and Manus O'Donnell were expected to join, the English Pale was to be invaded.*

Of all these schemes, still as they arose, full information was conveyed to the lord deputy and council by Neil Connelagh, Mac Guire, the lord O'Donnell, Claneboy, and other Ulster chiefs enlisted in the English interests, and all as ready to assist in quelling their rebellious countrymen in the field as they had been to denounce them in the council. On this occasion, too,—as on all others where active and honest zeal was called for,—the loyal services of the earl of Ossory and his son, the lord treasurer, were promptly and effectively forthcoming. Already had they managed to detach from the league now formed among the captains, one of the most daring and active of their number, O'Moore, of Ley;—hoping through his means to hold in check some of the less friendly of the chiefs, and more especially Fitz Gerald's ally and relative, O'Connor.

Among the measures suggested by Ossory to the government, it was strongly recommended by him that there should be a resumption of all grants of the king's

* Skeffington to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* XCII.

revenues and customs, more particularly of those to privileged places; and likewise that the act called, in general, Poynings' Law, should, during the parliament about to assemble, be suspended.*

Had the powers of the state been now wielded with even a moderate degree of vigour and skill, the young Geraldine's rebellion, instead of being suffered to protract its struggle for more than a year, might have been crushed in a few weeks after its first outbreak. But, besides the inaction of the lord deputy himself, owing to his continued state of ill-health, he also embarrassed frequently, by his interference, the measures and counsels of those who acted for him; and, had we no other clue to his character than his own official letters, the inflated pomp of their tone, compared with the meagreness of the results they have to communicate, would mark sufficiently the order of minds to which he belonged.†

To meet the dangers that menaced the kingdom, there had been, at an early period of his deputyship, a general call for the appointment of a marshal of the army; and, in the spring of this year, sir John Saintclow had been appointed to that office. He does not appear, however, to have taken much part in the warfare that followed; the chief services in which were performed by the earl of Ossory and his son, lord James, as we find duly acknowledged in the grant made to them, two years after, when the ancient title of their family, Ormond, was restored.

The address of Ossory, in drawing away from the rebel standard the brave and powerful chief, O'Moore, had deprived the Geraldines of their best prop and hope. The same experiment was tried in other quarters, and with no less success;—the prevalence of factions among the Irish, in the very interior of their homes and fami-

* "Wherfor it shuide be best, in my minde, that the acte that restrayneth to holde parliament without certyficat into Englande, be put in suspence during this Parliament."—Ossory to W. Cowley, *S. P.* XCIII.

† "The deputie followith the counsail of suche as have nether strength, activitie, practise, or yit good will to further the kinges most necessary affaires."—*Ibid.*

lies, rendering such quick changes of party frequent and familiar. In this very rebellion, the instances of different members of the same family fighting on opposite sides, were by no means uncommon. Thus, while the great O'Brian, as he was styled, espoused warmly the cause of lord Thomas, his eldest son, joining the followers of the earl of Ossory, took the field against his own father and all his kindred. In the same manner, Cahir O'Connor, the brother of the chief who adhered longest to the cause of Fitz Gerald, agreed to fight during this war, on the side of the English, on condition that he should have, "at the king's wages," 12 horsemen and 160 kern.*

One further instance may here be added, as well of the inveteracy of private dissension among the people, as of the fatal advantage taken of it by their rulers. Some movements in Munster, at the beginning of this year, having shown a disposition, on the part of the Mac Carthys and Geraldines, to take up arms in favour of lord Thomas, the earl of Ossory hastened to the scene of this gathering revolt, and going among the Geraldines, "sowed such strife between them," to use his own language, "that they continued long after full of war and debate, the one destroying the other." †

While thus, in the south and the west, internal division and treachery were busily sapping the strength of Fitz Gerald's friends, all the great captains of the north, with but one or two exceptions, took their stand firmly on the side of the government; and the lord deputy, in announcing to the king his intention speedily to march into O'Connor's country, mentions, as the chiefs to whose services he looks forward, O'Donnell, Mac Guire, Neill Connelagh, O'Reilly, Neill Mor, Hugh Roe, Mac

* Aylmer and Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* XCVIII.

† Ossory to W. Cowley, *S. P.* XCIII. Lord Leonard Gray, in one of his letters, speaks even more bitterly of the contentious spirit of this Anglo-Irish sept:—"As for neues," he says, "we have none worthie writing synes the date of our other letters; but the bastarde Geraldynes, by the permission of God, be killing one another." — Gray and Brabazon to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXVIII.

Mahon, the O'Hanlons, and several others. * Such being the immense superiority on the side of the government, it was not to be expected that the young "traitor," with his few and precarious allies, should be able to maintain any longer the struggle. It was only by the connivance, indeed, of some of those opposed to him, that he had been enabled to continue his resistance, or escape falling into the hands of the English. In the course of an incursion, under the lord treasurer, into Offaley, in which he was attended by the leading gentry of Kildare, as well as by O'Moore of Ley, this chief, while skirmishing with the rebels, forbore from killing any of lord Thomas's troops, and aimed at those only belonging to his brother chieftain and rival, O'Connor. Many of the rebels, also, on being made prisoners, met in the royal ranks with sympathising Geraldines, by whom they were assisted to escape; and lord Thomas himself, in the course of these skirmishes, fell, more than once, into the hands of the king's troops, and was again let go by them. †

A war thus collusively carried on was not likely very soon to terminate. But a far more prompt and decisive policy was now about to be adopted; and the arrival in Ireland of lord Leonard Gray, an officer of high military character, was viewed as the prelude to his succeeding Skeffington in the office of lord deputy.

However little there may have been of actual fighting between the two parties, the work of ravage and devastation, which has formed, at all times, a main branch of Irish warfare, was maintained, by both, with the usual ruinous efficiency; and a paper, drawn up after a short absence from Ireland, by chief justice Aylmer, and the master of the rolls, John Alen, expresses their surprise at the frightful change they found in the condition of the country; no less than six of the eight baronies that formed the county of Kildare having been burnt and depopulated, while part of Meath had

* Skeffington to Henry VIII., *S. P.* XCVII.
† Aylmer and Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* XCVIII.

undergone the same doom; and, but for the lord treasurer, who lay at Naas, with a portion of the army, the remainder of Kildare and the county of Dublin would have been laid waste to the city gates.* When, together with all this, it is taken into account that the plague was then raging through the country, the picture of the misery that must have everywhere prevailed is rendered complete.

Among other ruins that marked the course of the spirit of havoc then abroad, were the prostrate walls of the noble castle of Powerscourt, erected by the late earl of Kildare.†

No time was lost, on the arrival of lord Leonard, in preparing a force for the invasion of Offaley, in which district, and the continued alliance of its hardy chief, now lay Fitz Gerald's sole hope. Provided with victuals for twenty-one days, the army mustered, as had been appointed, at Naas; and was now but waiting for the lord deputy to place himself at its head. But sir William Skeffington was still lying ill and helpless, at Maynooth; where, to add to the dreariness of his position, all the country around the castle had been laid desolate to the very gates. Still, unwilling that any but himself should enjoy the credit of leading the enterprise, he continued to procrastinate, from day to day, keeping lord Leonard's force, as well as his own, consuming idly in the field their stock of provisions; while lord James Butler also, at the head of 120 horsemen and 500 foot, and the Irish allies, O'Moore and Cahir O'Connor, were all, in like manner, with their respective forces, kept waiting the lord deputy's recovery. ‡

Among other important projects, delayed or frustrated by the same cause, are mentioned the expedition for the destruction of O'Brian's bridge,—an object considered

* Aylmer and Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* XCVIII.

† "The Tholes entered by tradyment into Powers Courte, oon of the fairist garrysons in this countrie (the buylding wherof cost the oolde erle of Kildare and the inhabitauntis of the countie of Dublin 4 or 5,000 markis, for the defence of the said Thooles and the Birnes), and prostrated the same down to the grounde."—*Ibid.*

‡ Ibid.

to be of great importance,—the taking of the town of Dungarvan, and the subjection or reformation of the O'Brians and Geraldines of Munster.*

Finding himself, at length, sufficiently recovered to be able to venture on the expedition, Skeffington marched his army to Offaley, and entered the borders of that country; whereupon, O'Connor, to whom there remained now no other alternative than either to submit, or to be utterly ruined, came in and surrendered himself to the lord deputy. Deprived thus of his only efficient ally, lord Thomas saw that all further struggle was hopeless. He therefore, in a letter to lord Leonard, which shows of what weak materials such firebrands may be composed, entreated that lord to be his intercessor with the king, and to obtain for him "his pardon, his life, and lands."† He was accordingly admitted to a parley, and confessing humbly his heinous offences towards the king, gave himself up into the hands of lord Leonard and the council, to be disposed of according to the royal pleasure. In communicating these terms to the king, the council added, from themselves, an humble prayer, that, in consideration of "the words of comfort spoken to lord Thomas, to allure him to yield himself up," the royal clemency might be extended towards him, "more especially as regarded his life."‡

In the month of August, this year, the ill-fated young lord was sent prisoner to England; and such was the importance attached to the security of his person, that lord Leonard Gray was specially appointed to conduct him to England and deliver him safe into the hands of the king. But, however welcome to offended majesty was such a victim, the hopes of mercy held out to Fitz Gerald not only damped, but considerably embarrassed, the royal triumph.§ His five uncles, too, though

* Ossory to W. Cowley, *S. P.* C.

† Lord Thomas Fitz Gerald to Lord Leonard Gray, *S. P.* CI.

‡ The Council of Ireland to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* CIII.

§ "The doyng wherof (the apprehension of Thomas Fitz Gerald) albeit We accept it thankfully, yet, if he had been apprehended after such sorte as was convenable to his deservynges, the same had been moche more thankfull and better to our contentacion."—King Henry VIII. to Skeffyngton, *S. P.* CVI.

all obnoxious, and some of them known to have been as deeply involved in the rebellion as himself, were still left at large. About the beginning, however, of the following year, these five brethren surrendered themselves to the lord Gray, and were by him sent prisoners to England, where, together with their ill-fated nephew, to whom hopes of pardon had been so delusively held out, they were all executed at Tyburn.

Notwithstanding this sweeping vengeance of the law, there were still left in Ireland direct representatives of the house of Kildare; for the late earl's second wife, lady Elizabeth Gray, the daughter of the marquis of Dorset, had borne him two sons, the eldest of whom, Gerald, was, at the time of lord Thomas's death, about twelve or thirteen years of age. He was then in O'Brian's country, under the care of James de la Hyde; while the second son, Edward, had been conveyed, in some mysterious manner, to his mother, the countess of Kildare, then at Beaumanoir, in Leicestershire.* As Gerald, the elder brother, had been declared publicly an enemy, those interested in his safety, whether as relatives or partisans, had him removed from place to place as security and secresy required; and, after remaining some time among the Geraldines, in O'Brian's country, he was from thence secretly conveyed to his aunt, lady Eleanor, the widow of the late chief of South Munster, Mac Carthy Reagh, and then residing in that territory.

The destruction of O'Brian's bridge, an object considered, as we have seen, to be of great importance, and which had been more than once unsuccessfully attempted, was at this time effected by a force under the joint command of the lord deputy, the earl of Ossory, and his son, lord James Butler. The consequence attached by the higher authorities to this enterprise may be judged not only from the rank of the commanders conducting it, but also from the complaints made by Butler, in his account of the expedition, that neither the

* Countess of Kildare to Crumwell, *S. P.* CXXXVII.

baron of Delvin nor the baron of Slane was present, and that few of the English Pale had lent their aid. The treachery of the Irish, however, to each other,—that unfailing resource of their enemies,—stood in stead of more honourable means; and the chief's son, Donough O'Brian, was the ready traitor, in this emergency, both to his family's and his country's interests.* The possession of the castle of Carrigogunnel—an ancient place of great strength, in the neighbourhood of Limerick, which had been in the hands of one or other of the O'Brians for more than 200 years—was the prime object of Donough's ambition; and lord Leonard Gray, now lord deputy, having agreed to deliver this castle into his custody, he, in return, lent his aid in the present aggression on his father's territory. Pointing out a by-road to the bridge, entirely unknown before to the English, he thus saved them the delay and difficulty of carrying their ordnance across the river, and enabled them more readily to bring all their force to the attack.†

This bridge was protected, at each end, by a castle of "hewn marble,"—both castles built in the water, at some distance from the land, and both well defended by gunners, galloglasses, and horsemen. The lord deputy began by attacking the larger of these two garrisons; but finding that his ordnance took no effect, he caused that part of the river between the land and the castle to be filled up with fagots or fascines; and gaining thus a footing for his scaling-ladders, found himself enabled to take possession of both the castles and the bridge, and with the loss of only two gunners in the assault. The whole of the structure was then broken down and destroyed; and of such moment to the peace of the Pale was this feat considered, that we find the lord deputy, a few months after, referring to the destruction of O'Brian's bridge, as a service worthy of being classed along with

* Donough O'Brian had married Hellen, youngest daughter of Piers, earl of Ormond.

† The Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXI.

that other great act of his administration, the seizure of Fitz Gerald and his five uncles.*

A. D. 1536. About the beginning of the month of February, this year, a rumour had reached Ireland that lord Thomas and his five kinsmen were about to return thither immediately. So often had former earls of Kildare been known to triumph over their enemies, and such was the spell the Irish connected with the name of Fitz Gerald, that it was not till the news arrived of the frightful executions at Tyburn, which took place, as already has been mentioned, on the 3d of this month, that the hope was surrendered by them, of seeing their favourites return safe and triumphant. It must have aggravated, too, the bitterness of their feeling, did they know that the ill-fated young lord himself was not allowed, during his confinement, the commonest necessaries of life; but, "bare-footed and bare-legged," as a melancholy letter of his own describes his condition, was indebted to the charity of his fellow-prisoners for the few tattered garments that covered him. †

A. D. 1537. One of the principal events of this year was the expedition, or "hosting," of the lord deputy into Offaley, and his expulsion from thence of Brian O'Connor. This powerful chief, though one of the most active of Fitz Gerald's supporters, had, on his submission at the close of the rebellion, been suffered to remain in possession of his territory. As he still, however, according to English authorities, continued to violate every pledge of peace he had given, the lord deputy prepared to invade his country. Attended by the barons of Delvin and Slane, and the lord Killeen, who had all joined him with their

* "I have seen men, for less interprises than the apprehension of Thomas Fitzgerald, and, afterwards, the taking of all his fyve uncles and the braking of O'Brene's bridge, highly advanced."—Gray to Crumwell, *S. P.*

† "I never had eny mony, sins I cam into pryson, but a nobull, nor I have had nothyr hosyn, dublet, nor shoys, nor shyrt, but on; nor eny othyr garment, but a syngyll tryse gowne, for a velve furryd wythe bowge, and so I have gone wolward, and barefote, and barelegyd, divirse times (whan ytt hath not ben very warme); and so I shuld have don styll, and now, but that pore prysoners, of ther gentylnes, hath sumtyme geven me old hosyn, and shoys, and old shyrtes."—Lord Thomas Fitz Gerald to Rothe, *S. P.* CLVIII.

respective forces at Rathwere, he marched from thence through the territories of O'Mulmoy, O'Mulloghlin, and Mac Geoghegan, compelling these captains to abandon the cause of O'Connor, and even to join with the ranks of the invaders against him. Entering on the borders of Offaley, they took by storm the castle of Brakland, and delivered it into the hands of the chief's brother, Cahir O'Connor, who, following the unnatural example of Donough O'Brian and others, had leagued himself with his family's enemies.*

From thence, under the guidance of lord Delvin, they penetrated into a part of O'Connor's country, where, as the council state in their despatch, "no English host had ever been known to enter." † Here, laying siege to the castle of Dengen, which the chief himself had erected in the middle of a large bog, they, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of Cahir O'Connor, demolished the castle to the ground, leaving but a small angle of it standing;—"to the intent," as the lord deputy expresses himself, "that the Irish might see to what purpose the keeping of their castles served." ‡ In the assault, eighteen of the defenders of the castle were slain, and their heads stuck up as memorials of the event; while Cahir was rewarded for his treachery by having the government of that territory committed to his care. With the view, too, of securing Offaley to the crown, it was proposed that either Cahir should be elsewhere provided for, and that district stocked with English inhabitants, or, if this were thought too costly an experiment, that he should be denizened, and created baron of Offaley, to hold that land of the king's gift, according to English laws and inheritance. This, they suggested, might have the effect of rendering him a good subject; and the reason assigned by them for this expectation is, like much that relates to Ireland, at once amusing and melancholy. Should he consent to accept of these favours, he must

* Gray and Brabazon to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXIX.
† The Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXX.
‡ Gray and Brabazon to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXIX.

then, they think, be loyal, in his own defence; as "Irishmen would so hate him afterwards, that he would have but little comfort of them, and so must look to the king's subjects for protection against them."*

Events proved, however, that all this anxiety, as to the mode of disposing of him, had been most thanklessly thrown away. Before the year had quite expired, Brian O'Connor was again in possession of Offaley †,—while his brother Cahir, notwithstanding his compact with the English, again declared himself the king's enemy, and made common cause with Brian. ‡ As this conduct of the O'Connors called for chastisement, the lord deputy again marched into their country; but the only result, as it appears, of his inroad, was the destruction of a large stock of corn found in the abbeys of Killeigh and Castle Goshil, and the carrying away from Killeigh of "a pair of organs," to be placed in the college of Maynooth, together with glass sufficient to glaze not only the windows of the church of that college, but most of the windows of the castle of Maynooth itself. §

For some months after this fruitless expedition, O'Connor, betaking himself to his bogs and woods, continued to baffle all the attempts made by the deputy to obtain possession of his person, or even to expel him from that territory. At length, driven to extremity, the hardy chief declared himself willing to enter into articles of submission; and a parley was held, on the borders of the Pale, between him and lord Leonard, in the cautious forms of which, as concerted previously

* The Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXX.

† Sentleger, &c. to Cromwell, *S. P.* CLXXXIX.—In reference to this success of O'Connor, the following severe reproof occurs in a letter from Crumwell to the lord deputy, dated from Oatlands:—"The expulsyon of hym (O'Connor) was taken very well, but the permyssion of him to have suche a scope to worke myschyff at his pleasure, as no dought he must nedes be remayneing in dyspayre of restytution, was neyther wysedom, nor yet good presydent. Redubbe yt, my lord, in the juste punyshement of his traytour's carkas, and lette his treason be a warning to youe, and to all that shalle have to doo for the kinges magestye ther, never to trust traytour after, but to use thaym, withoute tracte, after theyr demerytes."—*S. P.* CXCI.

‡ Brabazon to Crumwell, *S. P.* CXCIII.

§ Gray to Crumwell, *S. P.* CXCIV.

by the parties, we perceive how strong were the fears of treachery felt on both sides; while, in the privilege allowed to the chief of holding parley with vice-royalty, a sort of recognition is implied of that princely rank to which, in right of their ancient dynasties, the Irish chieftains laid claim.

O'Connor having declared that he "would in nowise come into the Pale to parle," it was agreed that the interview between him and the lord deputy should take place near a ford called Kenneford, on the borders of Offaley. There, in a large open field, the chief, as arranged by the articles, was to take his station, alone, leaving all his retinue at three miles' distance; while the lord deputy, with a certain number of troops,—not less than 350 horsemen, kern, and gunners,—was to come over the ford to meet him, leaving the remainder of his forces behind till the close of the conference. During the parley, watch was to be kept on a high hill, where also a trumpeter and four horsemen were to be stationed; and this trumpeter, on pain of death, was to sound an alarm if he saw any danger. Such were the forms (and, perhaps, not peculiar to this occasion) in which O'Connor made his submission, entreating, at the same time, that, through the intercession of the lord deputy, he might be permitted to hold Offaley of the crown.*

Our last notice of the young lord Gerald, who was now the hope and rallying point of the rebel party, left him in Desmond under the care of his aunt, lady Eleanor, the widow of the late dynast of that territory. This lady was now about to be married to another great Irish chieftain, O'Donnell †;—being partly moved, it was thought, to this step, by the hope of securing a friend and assertor of the rights of her outlawed ne-

* "The Maner and Forme of the Parliament betwene Lord Leonarde Gray, the Kinges our Soverayn Lorde Hys Highness Deputie of Irelonde, and Bryan Ochonour."—*State Paper.*

† "The late erle of Kildare his suster is gon to be married to Manus O'Donnell, with whom is gon yong Gerrot, Delahides, and others; which I like not. I was never in dispaire in Ireland till now."—Brabazon to Aylmer and Alen, *S. P.* CCXXIX.

A. D. 1538. phew; and in the month of June, this year, we find her, accompanied by the young Gerald and her own son, Mac Carthy Reagh, passing through Thomond on her way to O'Donnell's country. From Galway she was escorted to the end of her journey by Ulick de Burgh, —the same who was, some years after, created earl of Clanricarde.

This journey through so great a part of the kingdom, from the extreme south to the north, performed thus safely by a youth whose apprehension was of such importance to the king's party, showed very strongly the state of popular feeling; while the lord deputy's supposed connivance at these daring movements of the Geraldines, so much at variance with his public declarations, drew down those suspicions on his faith and loyalty which led ultimately to his ruin. When arrived at O'Donnell's mansion, the party were met, as had previously been concerted, by the youth's near relative, O'Neill; a compact was sworn between the two chiefs to support the rights of young Gerald, and envoys were sent to solicit the aid of the Scottish monarch in their cause.*

Manus O'Donnell, now the husband of lady Eleanor, had lately succeeded, on the death of his father, to the lordship of Tyrconnel, having been inaugurated, according to a custom of high antiquity, upon the rock near Kilmacrenan church. Though bearing an hereditary grudge to O'Neill, he had now been induced, for the sake of young Gerald, to act in concert with that chief; and a like sacrifice of private feud to the general interests was made by O'Connor of Connaught†, who, though long at war with Manus O'Donnell for the possession of the castle of Sligo, now consented, with the view of facilitating the general league, to divide equally between O'Donnell and himself all the profits of this castle, as

* Ormond to the Council of Ireland, *S. P.* CCXXXVIII.

† This chief, called the great O'Connor of Connaught, was the most powerful of the five chieftains of that name; the four others being, O'Connor of Offaley, O'Connor Roo, O'Connor Don, and O'Connor Corcumroo.—See *S. P.* CCXLV.

well as the rent likewise of Connaught. Among other arrangements made by them for Gerald's safety and honour, a guard of twenty-four horsemen, well armed and apparelled, was appointed to wait upon him at his pleasure.*

In the month of July, this year, lord Leonard Gray proceeded on a military progress through a great part of the kingdom, receiving the submission of all the chiefs through whose countries he passed, taking the sons of some as pledges of their good faith, and seizing and destroying, in many instances, their castles and strongholds. In this manner, attended by the viscount Gormanstown, and other lords of the Pale, he traversed Offaley, Ely O'Carrol, Ormond, and Arra, and from thence, through Thomond, into Galway.† In the town of Galway he remained seven days, and, during that time, it is said, sacrilegiously seized and confiscated the precious ornaments of the ancient church of St. Nicholas. But this story, though so long current, has no pretensions whatever to truth.‡ Some self-willed acts of this lord, in the course of his progress, brought down much censure upon him, from his fellow-commanders. But the crimes alleged against him were, his open leaning to the Geraldines, and, still worse, his favouring, to a disloyal extent, the native Irish themselves. Among the acts by which he gave most offence were the following: — Finding Mac William invested with the captainry of Clanricarde, he forcibly deposed him, and set up in his place Ulick de Burgh, afterwards earl of Clanricarde; — a mark of favour which could not fail to be ascribed to partiality towards the Geraldines, of whom Ulick, as we have seen, was a most active partisan. Another act that brought upon him still greater odium, was his selection of the chief O'Connor, who had been so lately

* Ormond to the Council of Ireland, *S. P.* CCXXXVIII.

† Brabazon, &c. to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCXLIII.

‡ In an account kept by sir William Brabazon, vice-treasurer at this time in Ireland, of payments made for articles confiscated, we find an acknowledgment of the receipt of forty-five shillings from lord Leonard as the price of some ornaments confiscated at Galway. On this very slight foundation the whole story, it is probable, has been fabricated.

in open rebellion against the king's government, as not merely his guide, but his close and confidential adviser.

All the chiefs who had made their submission, during this hosting, were bound to the observance thereof by indentures as well as by oaths. But Ormond, in stating this fact, adds, that neither from them, nor any other of all the "Irishrie," did he count on security or good faith for a moment longer than the king's forces continued among them.*

The threatening league of the northern chiefs could boast, with its other supports, the sanction of a noble name, but too well known in the records of rebellion during this and former reigns, lord James of Desmond, the present pretender to the earldom. The lord of that title who, in the years 1523 and 1528, entered into a league with foreign powers for the invasion of Ireland, having died without male issue, there arose a contest for the right of inheritance between the two branches of the family, which was continued by their respective descendants; and the present claimants were James Fitz John, whose father had usurped and bequeathed to him both title and possession, and James Fitz Maurice, regarded generally as the rightful heir to the earldom. The father of the present possessor, who died in the year 1536, had, by connecting himself with the O'Brians, caused much embarrassment to the government. It was, indeed, chiefly by the aid of that powerful sept that he had been enabled to acquire possession of almost the whole of the country belonging to the earldom; as well as of those castles, garrisons, and lands, in the county of Limerick, which had belonged to the late earl of Kildare, but which, by the attainder of that lord, had accrued to the king.

Of a like complexion was the course pursued by James Fitz John, the present possessor of the title. Still allying himself with the O'Brians, and other "rebels," for objects of plunder and aggression, he yet continued

* Ormond to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXXII.

to negotiate with the heads of the government, and employed all the weight of his powerful position to prevail upon them to recognise his title. He also occasionally even lent his aid to the king's forces; and, during a late progress of the lord deputy, had joined his camp at Owney, "with a good band of men."* But it was shown in that instance, that he was hardly less dangerous as a confederate, than as an enemy; for, on some dispute respecting a hostage, arising between him and the deputy, the earl of Desmond drew out his men in battle array against the king's troops; and it was only through the interference of sir Thomas Butler, the earl's intimate friend, that he was induced to withdraw his troops, and return quietly to his own territory.† For much of this headstrong conduct, the government itself was in a manner answerable, having, on a previous occasion, yielded to him with a degree of submissiveness which could not fail to encourage further presumption. In the course of one of his negotiations with the lord deputy, respecting the terms of his proffered submission, the commissioners employed to conclude the treaty agreed to meet for that purpose at Clonmell. But Desmond, insisting on the strange privilege bestowed upon one of his ancestors, of never entering into any walled town, refused to come to Clonmell; and the royal commissioners, forgetful of their own and their sovereign's dignity, condescended to wait upon him in his camp.‡

Meanwhile the contest between him and young Fitz Maurice for the right of inheritance continued to be maintained by their respective parties; while the government, though clearly of opinion that justice and right were on the side of Fitz Maurice, yet, with a policy far more prudent than either just or dignified,

* Gray to Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCXLIV.

† "Confession of the Vicounte Gormanistowne, oon of the Kinges most honourable Consaile," &c. &c.

‡ "And ferther we advertise your good lordship that we have parled with James of Desmonde in the feldes, withoute the town of Clonmell."—Sentleger, &c. to Crumwell, *S.P.* CLXXXIX.

Desmond, on his submission in the year 1541, "renounced and forsook the said privilege and exemption."—*S. P.* CCCXXXIV., *note.*

forbore from pronouncing any decision in his favour; deeming it prudent to defer declaring which was the rightful heir till they could ascertain which was the more likely to prove the better subject. So extensive, however, was the influence acquired by Desmond in Munster, where he had drawn to his side all the most distinguished Geraldines, — the lord of Kerry, the lord Barry, the Knight of the Valley, and the White Knight, — that the council advised the expedient of sending to Ireland the other claimant, young Fitz Maurice, who was then with the king in England, and using him as an instrument to divide the party, and reduce the influence of his powerful competitor.

But the countenance afforded by Desmond to the young Gerald — already strong in the affections and sympathies of the Irish people — was the wrong most resented by the English party; and to such hypocritical lengths did they proceed, in their efforts to wean him from this youth's cause, that in articles delivered to him by the royal authority, it was unblushingly stated that the king, in his proceedings respecting Gerald, "had never intended any thing towards him but honour and wealth, and to have kindly cherished him, as his kinsman, in the same manner as his brother Edward was cherished by his mother, in England." The articles require, therefore, that Desmond should write to Gerald Fitz Gerald, and "advise him, in the same manner as his uncle, the lord deputy, had done, to make his submission to the king." *

The movements, indeed, of this young lord, and the native chiefs who espoused his cause, were become the principal objects of public solicitude and alarm.† A strong suspicion, as we have seen, had arisen, that Ge-

* According to O'Sullivan, the Catholic historian, his grandfather, the lord of Bear and Bantry, was one of those by whom young Gerald was sheltered during the time of his concealment; — "à Dermysio Osullevano, avo meo, Bearræ Principe."

† One of the suggestions for the recovery of Gerald was, that he should be bought of the Irish chiefs. "It is good," says Brabazon, in a letter to Crumwell, "that by sum maner of meanes, this boy might be had, thogh he shuld be bought of sum of the traytors aboute hym, and thei to have their pardons, whoez power, after his taking, is nothing."— *S.P.* CCLXX.

rald's uncle, the present lord deputy, secretly favoured the designs of those by whom his nephew was abetted and harboured. But there appear no valid grounds for this suspicion; while, on the other hand, satisfactory evidence of efforts made by him to recover this boy out of the hands of the confederates, occurs more than once in his official correspondence. Thus, in a letter addressed to the king, we find him reporting that he had concerted measures with William Wise* — a gentleman of Waterford, then high in favour at court — for the apprehension of young Gerald; and, writing at a later period to Cromwell, he mentions with earnestness his own anxious endeavours to prevail upon O'Neill to deliver the youth into his hands. One of the bitterest, indeed, of lord Leonard's enemies † has left on record reluctant testimony of the pains taken by him to remove his nephew out of reach of the influence of the northern chiefs. Notwithstanding all this, a year or two after, when this gallant and active public officer was brought to trial for high treason, the charge of having leagued with the earl of Desmond, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and others, to raise a rebellion in favour of Gerald, formed one of the chief grounds of that impeachment, by which he was so cruelly, and, as it appears, unjustly, brought to the block.‡

What definite purpose the confederates proposed to themselves in this new league, of which the young Gerald — or, as he was now styled, the earl of Kildare — formed the professed object, does not appear to have been well ascertained, even among themselves. Their application for aid to the emperor, and the French

* Gray to Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCXXVIII.

† Thomas Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLVII.

‡ The following circumstance mentioned by Stanihurst, who had met and conversed with Gerald, after the restoration of his title, would tell strongly in favour of lord Leonard, on this point, had the story come from a somewhat more trustworthy source. — "As touching the first article that brought him most of all out of conceipt with the king, I mooved question to the erle of Kildare, whether the tenor therof were true or false? His lordship thereto answered, *bona fide*, that he neuer spake with the lord Greie, neuer sent messenger to him, nor receiued message or letter from him."— Stanihurst, apud Holinshed, *S. P.* CXCIV.

king, implied the hope of being enabled to cast off the English yoke; and not independence only, but the bright and flattering prospect of beholding once more the ancient monarchy of their country restored and triumphant, appears to have floated in dazzling dreams before their eyes. As a record of that day expresses it, "O'Neill's mind is to be king of Ireland, and to proclaim himself king at the Hill of Tara." But a far more ready and feasible object of the confederacy, was the seizing by force on all the late earl of Kildare's lands, now forfeit to the crown, and upholding Gerald, in defiance of the law, as their rightful possessor.

In addition to all these various grounds of dissension, religious differences, which have formed ever since one of the most active ingredients of Irish strife, had begun, at this time, to influence considerably the views and counsels of the Geraldine party, whose leaders had hitherto opposed every step of the new faith; and to the title of "tyrant," which they had long bestowed upon the English monarch, now added bitterly, that of "heretic."* With the Scottish monarch, James V., who was no less hostile to the Lutheran doctrines than themselves, they were evidently in constant communication; and the bishop O'Donnell, and others, despatched by them to Rome, repaired previously to the Scottish court for further instructions.† There were likewise settled at this time in Ulster no less than 2000 Scots, whose ancestors had fled thither for refuge, when driven out of the isles, and with whom James, the present monarch, was secretly tampering, to secure their aid in his plans for embarrassing the English government in Ireland. With this view, he had twice sent for Alexander Karrogh, the captain of the Ulster Scots, to hold personal conference with him; and the mysterious silence preserved by this

* "The cause of this traicterous conspirid treason, as the traictours doo pleynly declare, both the said pretensid erle of Desmond and O Nele, and O'Downyll, is, that the king's highness is an heretik against the feith, bycause he obeyith not, and belevith not the bisshop of Romes usurpid prymacy."—R. Cowley to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXV.

† J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXII.

chief, with respect to the object of his two visits, was viewed by the English party as ominous of mischief.*

Some of these Scottish settlers of Ulster having, in the year 1538, got forcible possession of the lands of Lecale, the lord deputy, in the course of a "hosting" which he now made into that territory,—professedly with the hope of releasing his nephew out of the hands of O'Neill,—took from Mac Gennis, a northern chief, the bold castle of Dundrum, one of the strongest holds in the kingdom, and, seizing, in all, eight castles, during his circuit, expelled the Scots from their usurped lands.† He is accused of having, in the course of this expedition, burnt the cathedral church of Down, defaced the monuments of the saints Patrick, Bridget, and Columb-kill, and committed many other such wanton acts of sacrilege. But for this generally received story there appear to be no more real grounds than for the similar charge brought against him, respecting the collegiate church of St. Nicholas at Galway. Lord Leonard Gray remained to the last attached to the ancient faith; and at this very time, when historians represent him as defacing and destroying the monuments of catholic worship, he was, on the contrary, provoking the taunts of some of his reformed fellow statesmen, by kneeling devoutly before the "Idol of Trim,"—as an ancient image of the Virgin, in the church of that town, was now mockingly styled,—and hearing "three or four masses" in succession.‡

Though, under other circumstances, a league so general as that now formed among the chiefs, might have proved perilous to the English power, there was much in the present state of the public mind, depressed and disheartened as all had been by the crushing results of the late conflict, that afforded, for a time, sufficient security

* J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXII.

† Gray to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXIX.

‡ "They thre wold not come in the chapell, where the Idoll of Trym stode, to thintent they wold not occasion the people; notwithstanding my lord deputie, verav devoutely kneleng befor Hir, hard thre or fower masses." —T. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLVII.

This statue was burnt soon after; and the gifts of the pilgrims, in the same church, taken away. Among other cherished relics destroyed, at this time, was the ancient staff of St. Patrick.

against any very serious infraction of the peace. It appears that there were few, even of the inhabitants of the Pale, who had not, at some period or other of the last rebellion, supplied lord Thomas with aid, in men, money, or victuals; and the consciousness that their lands and goods were thereby placed at the king's mercy, kept them in continual alarm.

Towards the latter end of this year, the numbers and strength of the Geraldine league had considerably increased; and, in addition to those who had hitherto been its chief leaders, — O'Donnell, O'Neill, O'Brian, and the earl of Desmond, — the confederacy was now further strengthened by the accession of O'Neill of Claneboy, O'Rourke, Mac Loughlin, Mac Dermot, and many other Irish captains, besides a great host of Scots, both of the "out isles" and the main land of Scotland. In this critical juncture, it was singularly fortunate for the government that the mutual hostility so long subsisting between the lord deputy and the house of Butler, should have been, on both sides, generously abandoned; and that lord James Butler, now earl of Ormond*, — through the recent death of his father, and the king's restoration of the ancient title, — co-operated cordially with lord Leonard Gray in all those measures which the present crisis required. †

The danger that now more immediately threatened the Pale arose from the coalition formed between the great O'Brian, as he was specially styled, and the earl of Desmond, — the two most daring and powerful of the national champions; and as it was accounted, doubtless, the more prudent as well as more vigorous policy, to anticipate whatever blow might be intended, and thus prevent at once the aggression and the perilous infection of its example, a force, under the joint command of the lord deputy and the earl of Ormond, was marched, at

* The title of Ormond had been restored to this lord's father, on the death of Thomas Boleyn, earl of Ormond, without issue male, in the year 1537.

† "This unytie that is nowe knit betwixt him and me, shall not, God willing, dissever for my parte."—Ormond to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXXII.

the close of this year, into Munster. The principal object of this expedition, as stated in a despatch from Ormond himself, was, "by policy and strength to pluck from O'Brian all his forces and wings on this side the Shannon*;" and its leading events shall here be as briefly narrated as the copious details on the subject, furnished by official records, will permit.

Regaining possession, in some treacherous manner, of the castle of Roscrea, which belonged to Ormond by inheritance, but had been seized by the Mac Meaghers of Ikerin, the commanders proceeded from thence to Modren, a castle belonging to the O'Carrols, where the chief of that sept came in, on safe-conduct, and surrendered himself and his wife, as hostages to the lord deputy. Thither were sent to him also the hostages of Mac Brian of Arra, Regan of Owney, O'Dwyer of Kilnamanna, and a number of other chiefs of the neighbouring districts, pledging each of them to preserve allegiance, and pay to the king a certain yearly tribute. Continuing his march into Munster, lord Leonard succeeded in reducing to allegiance Gerald Mac Shane, the White Knight, the lord Barry, — the latter nobleman not having come near any lord deputy for years, — Mac Carthy Reagh, the Red Barry, and other adherents of the earl of Desmond; all of whom came in person to the earl of Ormond's house at Thurles, and there bound themselves, by oaths and hostages, to preserve allegiance to the crown.

At Imokilly, the deputy delivered up to James Fitz Maurice — the rightful claimant of the earldom of Desmond, who appears to have accompanied the expedition — all the castles and lands in that barony which had been usurped by James Fitz John, together with all other castles between Youghall and Cork, excepting those only which belonged to lord Barry, who had just given in his submission. In like manner, the lands of Kerricurriky, and others belonging to his grandfather, were now put into the hands of James Fitz Maurice.†

In O'Callaghan's country the deputy remained en-

* Ormond to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXXII. † Ibid.

camped for four days and nights, intending to have passed the river Avonmore, now the Blackwater, and from thence to have proceeded to the county of Limerick. But the river was then so much swollen, that the army was unable to pass; and, in the mean time, the earl of Desmond made his appearance on the opposite bank,—whether attended by any armed force does not appear,—and from thence signified to them that he had taken part with O'Brian against the earl of Ormond; that he would continue still to stand by that chief; and that, moreover, O'Brian would have, on his side, "all the Irishry of Ireland." The lord deputy, it is added, "being sore moved by these words," immediately drew off his army, and marched back to Cork; with little hope, it is clear, either on his part, or that of Ormond, that a single one of those lords and chiefs, who had so lately given in their submission, would, with such strong inducements to revolt, remain long true to their forced engagements. It is worth remarking, that the force thus employed to strike awe into the whole kingdom consisted but of 400 men under lord Leonard Gray, and about the same number of horsemen, kern and galloglasses, under the command of the earl of Ormond.*

It was in the course, probably, of this "hosting" of the lord deputy, that the battle took place between him and the chiefs O'Neill and O'Donnell, which became so memorable in the Irish annals, under the name of "the Battle of Belahoe†;" but of which, in contemporary English records, there occurs not the slightest mention. The two chiefs, it appears, had combined in

* Ormond to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXXII.

† "That prosperous fight," says sir John Davies, "at Belahoo, on the borders of Meath, the memory whereof is yet famous." He cites, as his authority, an Irish MS., the Book of Howth. There is also an account of the leading events of the conflict in the Annals of the Four Masters, ad ann. 1599. The pretended particulars of this battle given by Cox, Leland, and others, out of Holinshed, are all from the suspicious mint of Stanihurst; who, although he lived, as we have seen, near enough to the time of these events, to have conversed with Gerald after he was restored to his title, is little to be trusted in any of his details; and, in this instance, has evidently eked out whatever he may have found in the Irish annals with flat and puerile figments of his own.

a predatory inroad into Meath,—attracted far less, however, by the glories of Tara, than by the plunder and havoc expected from their foray; and, having destroyed the towns of Ardee and Navan, were returning loaded with spoil, when, being pursued by lord Leonard, they were overtaken, near the Ford of Belahoe, and, after a weak attempt at resistance, were all confusedly put to flight, leaving their booty in the hands of the pursuers.

However meagre were the immediate results of the lord deputy's circuit, its general effect, as manifesting watchfulness, and, still more, union, among the ruling powers, was by no means unuseful nor speedily forgotten. The hope of aid from foreign powers, which the northern chiefs had been led to indulge, was recently revived by the meeting, at Paris, between the emperor and the French king.* But at no period does there appear to have been much ground for this hope; and an event which occurred at the commencement of the present year,—the escape of young Gerald into France,—dissolved at once the sole bond which had held the leaders of so many factions, for a time, together, and awakened in the Irish a spirit of concert no less formidable than, luckily for their masters, it was rare.

The safe removal of Gerald to the continent had been contrived by his tutor, Levrous, and the chief O'Donnell, who had him secretly conveyed, at night, in a small cockboat, on board a ship bound for St. Malo. Besides other precautions employed to conceal his person and rank, he "had on him," we are told, "only a saffron shirt, and was bareheaded, like one of the wild Irish." † The account given of this youth's adventures, after his departure from Ireland, is garnished with much of that dull and circumstantial fiction, in which the chronicler, who is our sole authority for most of these stories, delights to indulge.‡ That efforts were made by the

* "Remembrances to my Lord Pryve Seall," *S. P.* CCLXXXVIII.

† "The sayd Fytzgarethe was convayed aborde the ship in the nyght, in a small cocke, havyng on but a saffronyd shurtt and barheaddyd, lyke one of the wyllde Yreshe, and with him 3 persons."—Warner to the English Ambassador, *S. P.* CCCVI.

‡ Stanihurst, ap. Holinshed.

English king, through his agents abroad, to obtain possession of Gerald, either by stratagem or negotiation, is sufficiently proved by existing documents; and such were the notions of his rank and importance which this eager pursuit after him excited abroad, that, wherever he went, the idea prevailed that he was really king of Ireland, and that the English monarch had cruelly disinherited him of his right.* Notwithstanding, however, the plans devised by Henry to have him seized, the youth succeeded in reaching his kinsman, cardinal Pole, at Rome, and remained in Italy, under his protection, several years. Through the munificence of this illustrious man, as well as the patronage of Cosmo I., grand duke of Tuscany, he was enabled to acquire such learning and accomplishments as befitted the high rank to which he was born. This rank he partially recovered in the course of the following reign, when he was taken into favour by Edward VI.; and, as soon as queen Mary came to the throne, the honours and estates of his ancestors were, by letters patent, restored to him.

* "And, in all this countre, wher he passyd, he was, and is to this day, namyd to be king of Yrland, and that the king our master hathe disheretyd him of hys ryght." — Warner to the English Ambassador, *S. P.* CCCVI.

CHAP. XLVI.

HENRY VIII. — (*continued*).

COURSE OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND — PRINCIPAL EVENTS THAT MARKED ITS PROGRESS — FIRST STEPS TOWARDS ITS INTRODUCTION INTO IRELAND — OPPOSED BY ARCHBISHOP CROMER — SUPPORTED BY ARCHBISHOP BROWNE. — ACT OF SUPREMACY — STRONGLY OPPOSED BY THE SPIRITUAL PROCTORS. — THIS AND OTHER MEASURES DEFEATED BY THEM. — PARLIAMENT FREQUENTLY PROROGUED. — BILL FOR THE EXCLUSION OF PROCTORS FROM PARLIAMENT. — GRANT TO THE KING OF THE TWENTIETH PART OF THE CHURCH REVENUES. — CHARACTER OF ARCHBISHOP BROWNE — IS REBUKED BY THE KING — HIS DIFFERENCES WITH THE BISHOP OF MEATH. — FEW OF THE PERSONS IN AUTHORITY ADOPT THE NEW CREED. — OATH OF SUPREMACY TAKEN BY TWO ARCHBISHOPS AND EIGHT BISHOPS. — COMMISSION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES. — NUMEROUS APPLICATIONS FOR A SHARE OF THE SPOIL. — URGENT REQUESTS OF ARCHBISHOP BROWNE. — MILD FORM OF THE CHANGE IN IRELAND. — NO INSTANCE OF SEVERE PUNISHMENT ON ACCOUNT OF OPINION. — PREVALENCE OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM. — RECALL OF LORD LEONARD GRAY. — PEACE CONCLUDED WITH O'NEILL. — ASSEMBLAGE OF IRISH AT FOWRE. LIBERAL POLICY OF THE KING — CONCILIATES THE IRISH CHIEFS. — DESMOND DISPOSED TO SUBMIT — EFFORTS OF ORMOND TO WIN HIM OVER. — LOYAL DISPOSITION OF MOST OF THE IRISH LORDS. — O'CONNOR REFRACTORY. — THIS CHIEF ALSO SUBMITS. — CHIVALROUS CONDUCT OF TIRLOGH O'TOOLE. — SUBMISSION OF DESMOND — AMICABLE ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN HIM AND ORMOND. — PARLEY WITH O'BRIAN. — EXECUTION OF LORD LEONARD GRAY. — PARLIAMENT ATTENDED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY THE IRISH CHIEFS. — TITLE OF KING OF IRELAND BESTOWED UPON HENRY. — PROCLAMATION OF A GENERAL PARDON. — GREAT REJOICINGS. — KINDNESS OF THE KING TO DESMOND AND OTHER LORDS. — O'NEILL AND O'DONNELL MAKE THEIR SUBMISSION. — TITLES AND HONOURS BESTOWED ON O'NEILL, THE O'BRIANS, AND MAC WILLIAM. —

PRAISE OF THE KING'S POLICY.—MUCH OF THE CREDIT DUE TO SENTLEGER — IRISH TROOPS EMPLOYED IN FRANCE — THEIR DISTINGUISHED BRAVERY. — GREAT EXPEDITION UNDER LENNOX AND ORMOND AGAINST SCOTLAND.

A FEW years before the period we have now reached, that great religious revolution of which Germany had been the birth-place, extended its influence to the shores of England, and was now working a signal change in the spiritual condition of that kingdom. In Germany, from an early date, the struggles of the emperors with the popes had conduced to engender a feeling of ill-will towards Rome, which required but little excitement to rouse it into hostility. In the German, too, as well as in the English reformation, finance may be said to have gone hand in hand with faith : as it was the abuse of his spiritual privileges by the pope, for the purpose of fiscal exaction, that gave to Luther his first advantage-ground in attacking the Roman see.

Nor was England wholly unprepared, by previous experience, for the assaults now made, not only on the property, but the ancient doctrines of her church ; as the sect of the Lollards may be said to have anticipated the leading principles of the Reformation ; while the suppression and spoliation of the alien priories, in the reign of Henry V., and a similar plunder committed by Edward II., on the rich order of the Knights Templars, had furnished precedents, though on a comparatively small scale, for the predatory achievements of the present monarch. A brief account of the leading events that marked the progress of the reformed faith in England, from about the time of Fitz Gerald's outbreak to the period where we are now arrived, will not be unuseful towards a clear exposition of the course and effects of that great religious change in Ireland.

The first decisive step taken in the difference between Henry VIII. and the see of Rome, was in the year 1534, when the pope, by declaring the validity of the king's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, pronounced sen-

tence against the union, so much desired by him, with Anne Boleyn. As this sentence was only enforced by a mere threat of excommunication, in case the king should persist in his project of a divorce, an opening was left through which some compromise, it is thought, might have been effected. But the hasty act of Clement's successor, Paul III., precluded finally any such chance of reconciliation. From that moment, the boundaries of spiritual and temporal power began, on both sides, to be violently transgressed. Not content with declaring Henry himself excommunicated, and laying his whole kingdom under an interdict, — measures which, whatever might have been their prudence, were within the scope of his spiritual powers, — Paul, by this bull, deprived the English king of his crown; dissolved all leagues of catholic princes with him; released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and delivered his kingdom up a prey to any invader.

While the pontiff was thus rashly outrunning the bounds of his spiritual dominion, the English monarch, on the other hand, self-invested with the supreme headship of the church, was bringing the terrors of temporal punishment to enforce the new powers he had assumed, and show how expeditiously a people may be schooled into reformation by a free use of the rack, the halter, and the stake.

However injudicious, indeed, as regarded mere policy, was the anathema hurled at Henry by the Roman pontiff, it is to be recollected, that intelligence had shortly before reached Rome of the trial and execution of the venerable Fisher, archbishop of Rochester, — a crime which, deepened, as it was, by the insults cast on the aged victim, was heard on the continent, we are told, with indignation and tears.* Soon after followed the sentence on the illustrious sir Thomas More, who, because he refused to acknowledge that the king was supreme head of the church, — a proposition which,

* Pole de Unitat., — quoted by Turner, *Hist. of Henry VIII.* chap. xxvii.

three years earlier, it would have been heresy to assert, —was sentenced to die the death of a traitor; nor could all his genius and knowledge, his views extending beyond the horizon of his own times, or the playful philosophy that graced both his life and his writings, obtain from the tyrant any further mark of mercy than the mere substitution, in the mode of executing him, of the axe for the halter.

Having achieved thus his double object, — supreme sovereignty over the church, as well as the state, — Henry's next step, to which the former had been but preparatory, was the spoliation of the clergy; and whatever wrong and ruin followed in the wake of his predatory course, no compassion is, at all events, due to the higher clergy and spiritual peers, who were themselves the obsequious abettors of all the tyrant's worst measures. Whether, like Gardiner, adhering still to the creed of Rome, or, like Cranmer and others, secretly reformers, the prelates of both the religious parties were equally tools of the throne; and alike servilely lent their aid to every aggression on the rights and property of the church.

The proceedings, as unmanly as they were merciless, against the ill-fated Anne Boleyn, whom the king, having first branded without scruple, then butchered without remorse, have no further relation to Ireland than as showing how rapidly scenes of pageantry and bloodshed succeeded each other in this frightful reign. By a parliament convened at Dublin, an act was passed, pronouncing the marriage of the king with Catherine of Arragon to be null and void, declaring the inheritance of the crown to be in the king and his heirs by queen Anne, and pronouncing it high treason to oppose this succession. Scarcely, however, had this act passed, when intelligence arrived of the trial and execution of Anne Boleyn, and the marriage of the king to lady Jane Seymour. As the Irish legislature, like that of England, at this period, was a body employed but to register edicts, the same parliament that had just passed this act, no

less readily repealed it, and pronounced, by another law, sentence of attainder upon the late queen and all who had been condemned as her supposed accomplices.*

It is not a little curious to observe how slow in ripening were the evil qualities of Henry's nature, and how long dormant in him was that love of cruelty which the boundless power he afterwards attained enabled him so monstrously to indulge. For no less than five and twenty years after his accession, we find recorded of him but two instances of severity, and one of them a case admitting of justification.† It was not till he pretended to sovereignty over the thoughts, the inward consciences of his subjects, and assumed a right to dispose of their souls, as well as their bodies,— it was not, in short, till he had tasted blood, as a bigot, that his true nature, as brute and tyrant, fully broke out.

Having now assumed to himself a sort of spiritual dictatorship, and usurped, in his own person, that privilege of infallibility against which he had rebelled, as claimed by the pope, Henry proceeded to frame and promulgate a formulary of faith for his whole kingdom, which, instead of being submitted to the boasted tribunal of private judgment, was ordered to be adopted by all implicitly, under pain of tortures and death.

The king's position, in thus holding supremacy over two rival creeds, from both of which he himself materially dissented, was such as entirely suited his tastes, both as disputant and persecutor; and even enabled him, as in the case of the wretched Lambert, — with whom he condescended to hold a public disputation, — first, to browbeat his trembling antagonist, in argument, and then to complete the triumph by casting him into the flames. The penal power was, indeed, in his hands, a double-edged sword, for whose frightful sweep his complaisant legislators had provided victims from both

* Leland, — who refers to Ir. Stat. 28th Hen. VIII., not printed.

† The only persons who, during that period, had suffered for crimes against the state, were Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Stafford, duke of Buckingham.

religions. For, as all who denied the king's supremacy were declared traitors, and all who rejected the papal creed were pronounced heretics, the freest scope was afforded to cruelty for the alternate indulgence of its tastes, whether in hanging conscientious catholics for treason, or sending protestants to perish in the flames for heresy. On one occasion, singled out of many, the horrible fruits of this policy were strikingly exhibited. In the same cart were conveyed to execution three catholics and three protestants; the former, for denying the king's supremacy, the latter, for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. The catholics were hanged, drawn and quartered, the protestants burned.

In the year 1539, the last of those spiritual ordinances by which Henry sought to coerce the very consciences of his subjects, made its appearance, in the form of an Act for abolishing diversity of opinions; or, as it was called, — from the savage cruelty with which its enactments were enjoined, — the bloody Statute of the Six Articles. This violent law, by which almost all the principal catholic doctrines were enjoined peremptorily, under pain of death and forfeiture, was aimed, with ominous malignity, against those of the king's own ministers, who, while appearing to adopt so obsequiously all his views, were, he knew, secretly pledged disciples of the new German school of faith. Most amply, however, has this duplicity been avenged, by the lasting stain brought upon the memories of those spiritual peers — Cranmer himself among the number — who, affecting to be convinced by a speech which the king had delivered in the course of the debate, gave their assent to this arbitrary statute and the barbarous penalties by which it was enforced.* There were only two among the prelates, Latimer and Shaxton, who had the courage to refuse their sanction to this sanguinary act.†

* "Notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely, my lord of Salisbury, my lords of Worcester, Rochester, and St. Davyes, defended the contrary a long time, yet finally his highness confounded them all with goodlie learning."—*MS. cited by Lingard.*

† Hume.

While such, in ecclesiastical affairs, was the odious policy of this monarch's reign, the spirit of its civil administration was no less subversive of all popular right and freedom. By an act, unparalleled in servility, the parliament gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by their own body; thus basely surrendering into the hands of the monarch the only stronghold of the nation's liberties.

Such, briefly sketched, were the leading events that marked the progress of the reformed faith in England, during a few years preceding the period to which I have brought down the civil history of Ireland; and I have been induced thus far to wander beyond the bounds of my prescribed task, in order, by bringing before the reader both pictures in juxta-position, to show how different was the course and character of the Reformation in the two countries.

In articles entered into by the earl of Ossory, on receiving a grant from the crown in the year 1534, of the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, as well as of the territories of Ossory and Ormond, we find the first step taken by the king towards the enforcement of the reformed faith, in Ireland; one of the engagements then entered into by this earl having been to resist the usurped jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome.* In less than a fortnight from the date of these articles, the violent rebellion under lord Thomas Fitz Gerald broke out; and amidst the general strife and confusion which then prevailed, little was thought of or done for the advancement of the new doctrines. It does not appear, indeed, that any strong measures for that object had been resorted to before the spring of the following year, when a writ was issued for the apprehension of Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, on a charge of treason; that prelate having vehemently resisted the king's claim of

* "Grant of the government of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Ossory, and Ormond, to Ossory, who engages to assist Skeffyngton and the king's deputy for the time being, to reduce Desmond and to resist the pope."—*State Paper*, LXXII.

spiritual supremacy, and laid a solemn curse upon all who should give their assent to the proposed change.

On the other hand, the cause of the new creed found a no less strenuous champion in George Browne, the archbishop of Dublin, who had been recently advanced to that see, and was the first of the clergy in Ireland that declared in favour of the reformed faith. To him, as a member of the commission appointed to bring that realm to a due acknowledgment of the king's spiritual supremacy, was specially intrusted the management of this arduous task. But Browne's report of the results of his mission afforded no hope of any such assent to the royal creed as it had met with from the great mass of the English people. His most effective opponent, Cromer, was a prelate whose "gravity, learning, and sweetness of demeanour *," had rendered him generally popular, and who had drawn to his own opinions, on this subject, most of the suffragans and clergy within his jurisdiction. Two messengers were accordingly despatched by them to Rome; and it was much feared by Browne and his party that the pope, on learning the state of affairs, would order O'Neill to oppose the projected changes.†

Seeing no hope, therefore, from the church commission, Browne advised the calling of a parliament in Ireland, which, following the example of the English legislature, should enforce by statute the general acknowledgment of the king's supremacy. In pursuance of this advice, a parliament was held the following year ‡, in the city of Dublin, and among the earliest measures submitted to it was an act for establishing the supremacy of the crown, or, as it was briefly styled, the Act of the Supreme Head. § It was also proposed to this parlia-

* Ware's *Hist. of the Bishops.*

† "The common people of this isle," says Browne, "are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in truth at the beginning of the gospel. . . . It is feared O'Neill will be ordered by the bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship's orders from the king's highness, for the natives are much in numbers within his power."—Browne to Crumwell, *Harleian Miscel.* vol. v.

‡ A. D. 1536.

§ The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S.P.* CXXVII.

ment that there should be no appeals to Rome, on pain of præmunire; that the clergy should pay first-fruits to the king, instead of to the pope, and that all who defended or asserted the authority of the bishop of Rome were subject to the penalty of præmunire. By another act, the twentieth part of the annual profits of all ecclesiastical promotions were to be granted to the king, his heirs and successors, for ever.

These measures, in the course of their enactment, were opposed vehemently by the spiritual proctors*, a class of men who had formerly been summoned to parliament only as counsellors, or assistants, without any voice or suffrage, but who had for some time assumed a right to vote as members of that body, and so much obstructed, at this crisis, the plans and measures of the reformers, that an act was passed, at a later period, declaring the proctors not to be members of the body of parliament. Owing to the exertions of this party in the commons, aided by the king's serjeant, Patrick Barnwell, the measure of the grant to the king of the twentieth part of the church revenues, spiritual and temporal, did not pass before the month of October, 1537.† Another important measure, delayed for several months by the same cause, was an act for the suppression of certain monasteries and religious houses comprised in a commission sent over, for that purpose, by the king.

In the correspondence of the lord deputy and council, at this period, we find an unworthy intrigue disclosed, having for its object to obtain from Cromwell the advancement of Basnet, a staunch follower of the new doctrines, to the dignity of the dean of St. Patrick's cathedral.† The minor details of the transaction come hardly within the range of regular history; but the fact that Cromwell, for the essential aid he lent to this

* "Of which (proctors) Patrick Bernewell, the kinges serjaunt is oon-pryncypall champion; who, and in effect all his lynage of the Bernewells, have been gret doers and adherentes, pryvay counsaillors to the late erle of Kildare."—Robert Cowley to Crumwell, *S.P.* CXLIX.

† The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXIV

intrigue, by promoting Basnet to the deanery, received the sum of sixty pounds, shows that, even at that dawning hour of the reformed creed, a corrupt traffic in spiritual patronage already prevailed among its promoters.

In the month of January (1537) the parliament was again assembled; but so perseveringly did the proctors still continue their opposition, having now openly on their side the bishops and abbots, that little progress was made in any of the bills remaining to be disposed of; and even of those which the commons agreed to pass, some were afterwards thrown out by the upper house. In this manner, the bill for granting to the king the twentieth part of all ecclesiastical revenues, though passed by the house of commons, was rejected by the spiritual lords.* It became necessary, therefore, again to prorogue the parliament, and employ the recess in devising some remedy for this continued obstruction in the way of their measures.

On being consulted, the king's council declared that the proctors had "no voice in parliament," and referred to entries on the rolls as proving that, even in cases where their assent or dissent was recorded, it was not considered to be material, nor allowed any weight in the decision of the matters in question. In accordance with this opinion, an act was prepared to put down the "usurpation of proctors," which, on the re-assembling of parliament, was one of the first measures passed; and the refractory spirit which had so long thwarted the plans of the government having been thus far got rid of, the act for the grant to the king of the twentieth part of the "spirituality," as well as for the suppression of the religious houses, was without much difficulty carried. So welcome was this grant to Henry, with whom money was, at all times, a pressing consideration, that, in a special letter addressed to the lords spiritual, he expressed his acknowledgments for the gift.†

* Gray and Brabazon to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXVIII.
† King Henry VIII. to the Spiritual Lords of Ireland, *S. P.* CC.

The position, at this juncture, of Browne, the archbishop of Dublin, was not a little arduous and trying; for, as he had been the first of the clergy to embrace the Reformation, so he continued to be almost the only one who took active steps for its advancement; and while, by the over-zeal of a fresh convert, he made himself odious to the party he had deserted, his self-sufficiency and assuming pomp made him no less offensive to those whose doctrines he had espoused. A letter addressed to him about this time (1537) by the king*, after charging him with "lightness in behaviour," adds,—"Such is the elation of your mind, in pride, that, glorying in foolish ceremonies, and delighting in We and Us, all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you." In replying to these heavy charges, which wear the appearance, it must be owned, of exaggeration, the archbishop sets forth his own spiritual services in "declaring to the people the only Gospel of Christ," and inducing his hearers "utterly to despise the usurped power of the bishop of Rome." But the steps taken by him to advance the king's temporal interests, are those he dwells upon with the most emphasis and self-complacency; reminding his majesty that he had been not only the first spiritual man that moved the twentieth part of first-fruits, but that he had promoted, as far as in him lay, the "like first-fruits of all monasteries, not before motioned."†

Between this prelate and lord Leonard Gray there occurred frequent and bitter differences, for which their variance on religious questions may be thought sufficiently to account. But even with Staples, the bishop of Meath, the only prelate who joined in supporting the king's supremacy, this domineering archbishop could not bring himself amicably to agree. Who can wonder that the people of Ireland should have almost unanimously rejected a creed of which Henry VIII. was the supreme head, and this most assuming and worldly-

* State Papers, CLXXIV.
† Archbishop Browne to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* CLXXXVI.

minded prelate the earliest apostle?* So narrow, in fact, was the footing gained, at this time, by the new doctrines, even among the higher authorities of the Pale, that, with the exception of lord James Butler, the master of the rolls, the vice-treasurer, Brabazon, the archbishop of Dublin, and one or two others of little note, all the official personages constituting the government, including the lord deputy himself, remained still attached to the ancient faith.†

The only test or symbol of the new orthodoxy required, as yet, from either ecclesiastics or laymen, was the taking of the oath binding them to acknowledge the king's supremacy; and it may be presumed that neither by the clergy nor laity was this substitution of the supremacy of the crown for that of the pope considered as a change seriously affecting their faith, since almost all the native lords and clergy came forward, as we shall see presently, to confirm their allegiance by this form of oath. If, in place of a mere acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, — a claim, the extent of which neither the chiefs nor perhaps the clergy themselves clearly understood, — the renunciation of some tenet or observance endeared and hallowed by old tradition and daily habit, had been demanded as the pledge of orthodoxy, the same tranquil submission would not have attended the first advances of the reformed creed.

Without pausing, however, to consider what were the causes of Ireland's exemption, at this period, from that dragooning process of conversion to which England was so brutally subjected, suffice it to say, that such, at this time, was the comparative state of the two king-

* The character given of this prelate by Staples, bishop of Meath, is, as far as we can judge, not over-coloured: — "He now bostyth hyme self to ruell al the clergy under our soveran lord, and he hath gyvyne such a tast of hys good demeanour as that every honest man is not only wery theroff, but rekonyth that pryd and arrogance hath ravyshyd hyme from the ryght remembrance of hymeself."—Bishop Staples to Sentleger, *S. P.* CCXXXIII.

† "Excepte it be the Archebyschope of Dublyn, whiche dothe here in preching sett forthe Godes worde, with dew obedyence to ther prynce, and my good lord Butler, the master of the rolles, Mr. Thezaurer, and on or 2 more, whiche are of smalle repytachons, here is ellys noone, from the hyeste, may abyde the heryng of hitt, spirituall, as they call them, nor temperall." — Agard to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCXVII.

doms; and that whatever of peace and religious tolerance these islands could boast had all taken refuge on the Irish shore. This very year, while the scaffolds of England were reeking with christian blood, and men were expiring, by a slow fire, with the words "none but Christ, none but Christ," upon their lips, not only were the axe, the faggot, and halter, left entirely without employ in Ireland, but the harshest punishment we find inflicted for religious offences, during that period, was the commitment of the delinquents to Dublin castle. Thus, a grey friar was imprisoned for having preached against the "breaking or pulling down of churches," and a like punishment was inflicted by Browne in two several cases;—the offender, in one instance, having been the suffragan of the bishop of Meath, who, in a late sermon preached by him, had prayed, first, for the bishop of Rome, then for the emperor, and lastly, for the king, saying of the latter, "I pray God he never depart this world, until that he hath made amends."* The other offender committed by the archbishop was a prebendary of St. Patrick's, named Humphrey, who, when performing service in his own church, had not only omitted to read the "Form of the Beads" (certain instructions for praying, drawn up by Browne himself), but when his curate went up into the pulpit for that purpose, suddenly interrupted him, and began, with the choir, to sing high mass; and for this offence against his formulary the archbishop sent him to prison.† A. D. 1538.

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While such are the worst stretches of power with which even this proud and contentious churchman appears to have been chargeable, the general forbearance of the civil authorities, during the whole, I may say, of this reign, from all violent means of enforcing the new creed, was even still more worthy of wonder and praise. The mixed composition, perhaps, of the present government, in which were brought together adherents

* Archbishop Browne to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCXXV.
† Id. *S. P.* CCXXVI.

of both the contending creeds, might have had some share in producing the tolerance and general tranquillity that now prevailed; for, not merely was this balance of counsels in the governing body likely to lead to a middle and tolerant course, but a sort of security was thus afforded to both the religious parties, that nothing violent, was likely to be attempted against either by a government counting as its most forward leaders such men as lord Butler and the lord Leonard Gray; the one a friend of the reforming archbishop, and a warm abettor of all his innovations; the other a known adherent of the ancient faith, having knelt publicly, as we have seen, in one of his late circuits, before the statue of the blessed virgin at Trim.*

Such mutual tolerance, on matters of belief, appears the more remarkable at this very crisis, when one of the principal objects of the league formed by O'Donnell, O'Neill, and the Geraldines, was supposed to be the defence of their country's creed against the innovations of the English reformers; and when it was believed that they were actually negotiating with foreign powers for a force to aid them in this design. An event that occurred this year, about midsummer, conduced to strengthen such an impression. Among the papers of a Franciscan friar, who had been apprehended and committed to the castle of Dublin, was found a letter addressed to O'Neill, and professing to be written by the bishop of Metz, in the name of the council of cardinals. The object of this letter was to exhort O'Neill, as he valued "the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and his own security," to oppose himself to the spreading heresy. The writer informs him of an ancient prophecy of St. Laserian, an Irish archbishop of Cashel, which predicts that "the church of Rome shall surely fall when the Catholic

* In speaking of this statue, Browne says, "There goithe a commen brewte amonges the Yrish men, that I entende to ploke down Our Lady of Tryme, with other places of pilgramages, as the Holy Crosse and souch like; which in deade I never attempted, although my conscience wolde right well serve me to oppresse such ydolles."—*S. P.* CCXXXVI.

faith is once overthrown in Ireland;" and accordingly exhorts him to "animate the people of the Holy Island in this pious cause."* The bearer of this letter — in which, among other marks of imposture, the prophecy is attributed to an archbishop of Cashel, of whom there is no trace in our annals — was on the point of being sent over prisoner to England, when he put an end to his life in Dublin castle.

Early in the following year, two archbishops and eight bishops, after hearing a sermon preached by the archbishop of Dublin, in support of the king's supremacy, and the "extinguishment" of the bishop of Rome, all took the oaths relating both to the succession and the supremacy.† A. D. 1539.

Although the act for the suppression of religious houses was passed in the year 1537, the appointment of a commission to carry it into effect did not take place till the present year; when, following the course pursued in England, a form of inquiry was employed to usher in an act already determined upon, and the suppression of the religious houses was quietly effected. In the mean while, the spoils expected from this harvest of rapine were already in fancy parcelled out among the great lords and officers of the Pale, both lay and spiritual. It had been suggested, in the year 1537, that, to reward the services of lord James Butler, and his father, without further encroachment on the king's lands, a grant should be made to them of the monastery and lands of Duiske, together with some other march abbey, either in Kilkenny or Tipperary.‡ But this suggestion does not appear to have been carried into effect. The lord chancellor Alen endeavoured to secure for himself the monastery of St. Thomas Court, near Dublin§; but

* Harleian Miscell. vol. v. — Cox.

† The Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXII.

‡ Gray, &c. to Crumwell. "As for the name of honour of the erledome of Ormond, it is not hurtefull they have it; but as for the landes, our advise is, the king depirte not wyth them, but, in the lue thereof, geve them the abbaye of Duske, with thappertenaunces, wych is determined to be suppressed."—*S. P.* CLXVIII.

§ J. Alen to Crumwell. "Considering that I have no howse in Dublin to lie in, neither provision to keep oon hors ther for my self, that it would

the site and circuit of that venerable abbey were granted, in the year 1543, to sir Thomas Brabazon, then vice-treasurer, the ancestor of the earls of Meath.

Equally unsuccessful was archbishop Browne, notwithstanding his zeal for the cause of reform, in endeavouring to secure for himself a share of this religious plunder. On the first rumour of the coming of the commission, he wrote to request of lord Cromwell, that he would obtain for him a "very poor house of friars," as he describes it, named the New Abbey,—a "house of the obstinates' religion, which lay very commodious for him by Ballymore." This monastery, however, had already been given away, and,—still more provokingly, in the eyes of the prelate,—had been bestowed upon an Irishman.* He next endeavoured to obtain from Cromwell a grant of the nunnery of Grace Dieu, should that house be among the number of those suppressed. But here again his suit was fruitless; and, after an ineffectual attempt to preserve it, this nunnery was suppressed, along with the rest, and its site and possessions granted, in the year 1541, to sir Patrick Barnwell, ancestor of the lord Trimleston.†

Some over-zealous Irish writers, unwilling to admit that so long an interval of peace and tolerance could have been enjoyed thus under a government almost entirely English, have brought forth one alleged instance of religious martyrdom, in the person of Dr. John Travers, an Irish secular priest, who published a book in defence of the papal supremacy. Had it been for writing this controversial work that capital punishment was inflicted on Travers, his right to the place he holds in

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plese your lordship that I maie have the monastery of St. Thomas Court to ferme, wherby I shalbe the more able to serve the king, and yit his grace nothing hindered of his profit."—*S. P.* CCLXVIII.

* "Where as I wrote unto your lordeschip for the obteynement of a very poure house of friars, named the New Abbay, an house of the obstynates religion, which lay very commodious for me by Balymore, to repaire unto in tymes of nede; I am clene dispatched of any pleasures there, and the profeite theireof gyven to an Irish man; so that I am compted an unworthie parson."—*S P.* CCXXVI. He then solicits, in the same strain, for a grant of the abbey of Grace Dieu.

† See, for particulars of this grant, Archdall's *Monast. Hibern.* p. 218.

the Irish martyrology could not have been questioned. But this was by no means the case: — he had taken a most active part in lord Thomas Fitz Gerald's rebellion, and it was for this offence that, having been tried and found guilty of treason, he was executed at Tyburn.* Such is the single alleged instance of severe punishment, on account of religion, which, even by those most desirous to fix such a charge on the Irish government, could be referred to during the whole of the thirteen years that elapsed from the first introduction of the reformed creed, to the last days of this reign.

The notion prevailing at this time among the alarmists of the Pale, and since adopted by all our historians, that religion was a leading motive of the late league among the chiefs, appears to be but little sustained by recorded facts. Had any great zeal for the interests of religion been felt, either within or without the Pale, there would have been, on both sides, more show of energy and character, but, on neither, much enjoyment of tolerance or peace. So little, indeed, did Henry's spiritual claims alarm the consciences of the native chiefs, that, a year or two after, when entering into articles of submission, all the most eminent among them readily took the oath, acknowledging the king supreme head of the church. While thus, from pliancy of conscience, or, perhaps, mere ignorance of the nature of the pledge required from them, these lords contributed, by their easy submission, to prolong the tranquillity that now prevailed, the same object was, in like manner, ministered to by another large class of persons, — the unreformed clergy of the Pale; who, when they found that by preaching in defence of the pope, they would incur the penalty of præmunire, refrained from preaching altogether, and gladly took refuge in the safe, though inglorious, policy of silence. † A similar course was pursued by the ill-

* Cox.—Ware's *Writers*.

† "So that now," says an observer of these events, "what for fear they have to preche their ould traditions, and the litill or noo good-will they have to preche the veritie, all is put to scilence." — J. White to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCXII.

fated lord Leonard Gray himself; and, accordingly, though known to be, in his heart, attached to the ancient doctrines, no charge against him on the score of religion appears in the articles upon which he was impeached.

It may be thought that the frequent "hostings" of the lord deputy, throughout the kingdom, seem rather at variance with the picture of general quiet here presented. But it must be recollected, that these circuits, or progresses, were meant for the display, rather than the employment, of military force, — more as precautionary measures of police than as movements of actual warfare: and the bloodless result of most of the journeys of this description, under lord Gray, serves much to corroborate all that has been said of the state of peace that generally prevailed.

Another striking proof of this fact may be found in the cessation, to a remarkable degree, of that petty warfare of the Irish septs among themselves, which had, from time immemorial, been the habit and curse of the land. The single exception, indeed, to the respite which, even in this respect, the whole kingdom now enjoyed, is found in the instance of an Anglo-Irish sept, the Geraldines, of whom, in a letter already cited, from the lord deputy to Cromwell, it is said, "the bastard Geraldines are, by the permission of God, killing one another." In general, however, there prevails in the public correspondence of this period, most ample testimony to the state of quiet which the whole country then could boast. Thus, in the year 1538, there occur such admissions, with respect to the state of the kingdom, as the following: — "We are at peace with all men, and they keep peace with us, as yet."— "We signify unto your majesty (say the lords of the council) that, thanks be to God and your highness, the land is at such stay and peace, at this season, as it hath not been these many years." But a still more satisfactory evidence of the existence and effects of this change is afforded by another official authority. — "This country was in no such quiet these many years; for, throughout the land, in a man-

ner, it is peace, both with English and Irish. I never did see, in my time, so great resort to the law as there is this term, which is a good sign of quiet and obedience."*

The escape of young Gerald into France had removed the only common rallying-point or standard around which could be collected a sufficient number of malecontents to endanger seriously the peace of the country. Shortly after this youth's departure, lord Leonard Gray, who had long been entreating of the king permission to return to England, was granted a temporary recall, and sir Willian Brereton was appointed lord justice during his absence.† The mutual ill-will so long existing between the late deputy and the earl of Ormond, though for a short time apparently suppressed, had again broken out with fresh bitterness; and the enmity of Ormond to lord Leonard had found ready and sympathising abettors in the lord chancellor Alen, and sir William Brabazon, the vice-treasurer. In the ominous summons, therefore, of these three personages to confront him in England, Gray must have seen but too sure a foretoken of the disastrous fate that there awaited him. A. D. 1540.

On the first rumour of Gray's recall, indications of revolt had begun to show themselves among the septs immediately bordering on the Pale.‡ The O'Tooles of Wicklow had made a foray into the marches of Dublin, and the Cavanaghs a predatory inroad of the same kind into the county of Wexford. But, when not only this lord, but the earl of Ormond also, had sailed for England, the removal from the country of two such commanders inspired a confidence in some of the more restless of the chiefs, which seemed, for a short time, to threaten disturbance to the public peace. A sudden incursion made by O'Connor, for purposes of plunder,

* Thomas Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLVII.
† King Henry VIII. to Gray and Sir W. Brereton, *S. P.* CCXCV.
‡ The Council of Ireland to Crumwell Earl of Essex, *S. P.* CCXCVII.

into Kildare*, and suspected plots and some threatening movements on the part of O'Neill, were the only grounds as yet assigned for the apprehension that generally prevailed.

It was clearly the policy of the new lord justice's government to make the worst of the state in which Gray had left the kingdom, in order, by bringing thus heavier odium upon his measures, to enhance proportionably their own merit in repairing the evils which he had caused. A desire to enter into negotiation having been intimated by O'Neill, the lord justice appointed a meeting with him at Carrick Bradogh, a plain on the borders of Dundalk. But the chief, fearing, for some reason not explained by him, to trust himself with any Englishman at that place, proposed that the parley between them should be held at the Narrow Water, near M'Gennis's castle. Accordingly, a peace was there concluded with him to the same effect as that which, in the year 1535, he had made by indentures with sir William Skeffington.† But, in the present instance, we are furnished with proof that O'Neill's voluntary pledges of peace were by no means sincere; as a letter, still extant, addressed to him by James V. of Scotland, shows that at this very time the chief's secretary was at the Scottish court, negotiating with that monarch. ‡

Whatever hopes of aid from Scotland might have been counted upon by the Irish leaders, — and a close intercourse had long been held by them with that kingdom, — to the lord justice and council they spoke only the language of submission and peace. A general muster, however, of the respective forces of O'Donnell, O'Neill, O'Brian, and the other leading Irish lords, having been appointed to take place at Fowre, in the west of Meath, the lord justice assembled instantly a large army, com-

* "Ochonor, notwithstanding his appointment of truce, assone as he perceived that the late lord deputie was passed the sea, on Tuysdaie last, his sonnes and cumpany invaded the countie of Kildare." — Alen and Brabazon to the Earl of Essex, *S. P.* CCCI.

† Brereton to Essex, *S. P.* CCCII.

‡ Epistolæ Jac. IV., Jac. V., et Mariæ, Regum Scot.

prising, in addition to the whole of the military power of the Pale, the attendance likewise of the lords spiritual and temporal, as well as of the judges, learned men, and priests; and at the head of this large and miscellaneous army, marched forth to the scene of the threatened congress.* All that the chiefs professed, from the first, to have in view, in this general confederacy, was the holding a parley with the lord justice and council, and making a peace such as would be likely to endure. But, when they now heard of the immense force the authorities of the Pale were bringing against them, and of the campaign of twenty days, for which they were victualled, the object of their own assemblage, whatever it might have been, was immediately abandoned, and none of them appeared at the place appointed. "Whereupon," says the lord justice, in relating the circumstance, "we concluded to do some exploit;" and, accordingly, they entered into O'Connor's country, and there, "encamping in sundry places, destroyed his habitations, corns, and fortlaces, as long as their victuals endured." †

After this short interruption, our records continue to present, through the remainder of Henry's reign, a scene of mutual reconciliation, tolerance, and peace. Instead of the hostility so long and preposterously kept alive between the crown and its Irish subjects, conciliatory advances were now, for the first time, and almost simultaneously, made by both; and while the king, by a skilful distribution of honours and gifts, allured the principal Irish chieftains to his court, these lords, on their parts, showed even too courtier-like a compliance with all the conditions and pledges required of them in return.

The earl of Desmond, who, like most of the other magnates of the Pale, had become identified, from A. D. 1540.

* Mathew King to the Privy Council in England, *S. P.* CCCX. See also Letter from Robert Cowley to the Duke of Norfolk, in Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. ii. Second Series, written evidently at this time.

† Lord Justice and Council to Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCXIV. The lord justice adds, as if surprised that this course of proceeding had not been agreeable to the chief, "Albeit he remaineth in his cankerde malyce and rankor, and so doo all his confederates."

habit and policy, with the native nobility of the land, was one of the first who now showed a disposition to sue for pardon and favour. In the month of April, an act of assassination had been committed, of which the brother of this lord, Maurice Fitz John, was the perpetrator; and James Fitz Maurice, the rival claimant of the earldom of Desmond, was the victim.* The immediate consequence of this daring murder — and, therefore, liable to be supposed its motive — was the concentration in James Fitz John, the present lord, of the whole title to the earldom. No suspicion, however, appears to have been entertained that he was at all accessory to the crime; and his now uncontested high station, added to the weight of his personal influence, rendered the course likely to be taken by him an object of much speculation with both parties. One of the principal causes hitherto of his disaffection to the king's government had been the grudge borne by him to lord James Butler, now earl of Ormond, both on account of the ancient feud between their bloods, and also of the claim set up by Butler to the earldom of Desmond, in right of his wife, the only daughter and heir general of the eleventh earl of that house. This jealous feeling had now subsided, it appears, on both sides; and so anxious was Ormond, whose zeal and activity in the public service never flagged, to draw his brother earl to allegiance, that, when on his way to a parley with O'Brian, he so far trusted himself in Desmond's power as to lodge two nights in his dominion, for the purpose of endeavouring, as he says, to win him over "by familiarity and persuasion." But Desmond, though conscious of his own offences, and most anxious to obtain pardon, was yet unwilling to relinquish his amity with O'Brian and others of the chiefs; and declared that so strong were their confederacies, he could not, even if it was his wish, attempt to resist them.

In the month of August, sir Antony Sentleger, the

* The Council of Ireland to Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCXCVI.

new lord deputy, reached Dublin; and his first report of the state of the country, addressed to the king soon after his arrival, refers to the peaceful dispositions manifested by O'Connor, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and other northern chiefs; as well as by O'Brian, Desmond, and other great lords of the west. O'Donnell had previously written to the king, acknowledging his spiritual supremacy, professing, in the humblest terms, repentance for his own offences, and suing earnestly for pardon.* By O'Neill, likewise, a respectful letter was addressed, in Latin, to the monarch, accompanied by some gifts, which Henry graciously received.† Far less dependent in his tone than O'Donnell, this chief, while professing himself disposed to proffer submission to the king, complains of the grievous extortions practised by his deputies, as well as of their constant wars and forays, which render it impossible, he declares, for peace to exist in the kingdom. To O'Donnell the king readily granted pardon; but, in answering O'Neill, though considerate and gracious in his language, he gives him to understand that further favours must all depend upon his own deserts; and, referring to a request made rather prematurely in O'Neill's letter, for the grant of some lands and ruined castles on the north coast, Henry intimates, with no small address, that the favour solicited by him is rather postponed than refused.‡

The reduction of the sept of the Cavenaghs §, which had been begun some months before by the earl of Ormond, was now, under the auspices of the new lord deputy, carried more fully into effect. After wasting and burning their country for the space of ten days, — the usual preliminary to Irish negotiation, — the invaders succeeded in bringing Mac Morough, the head of the Cavenaghs, to make his submission. Renouncing, on his own part, the title of Mac Morough, he en-

* State Papers, CCCIX.

† O'Neill to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCXIII. The signature of this letter is as follows: — "Per me Capitaneum Oneyell, virum in omnibus subditum."

‡ State Papers, CCCXXI.

§ This sept, or nation, inhabited Idrone, in the west part of Carlow.

gaged also, on the part of his sept, that they would never more, after that day, elect any one from among themselves to bear that title, or act as their ruler, excepting only his majesty the king, and such as he should appoint. Measures of a similar kind were then taken with the sons of O'Moore, who held the county of Ley; and also with several other petty chiefs, such as O'Doyne, O'Dempsey, and Mac Maurice, who had all been confederates with O'Connor, but were now detached from his party.

O'Connor himself, whose restless spirit and near neighbourhood to the Pale had rendered him a thorn in the side of the English *, was now the only native lord to whom hopes of favour had not been held forth. So much excluded was he from the royal grace, that, in a letter addressed by the king to the Irish council, he desires that on no account, unless from actual necessity, they should enter into any terms with him; but rather, if possible, "expel him utterly from his country:" the king adding, that in this case, he would not be unwilling to bestow that country upon Cahir O'Connor, the chief's brother, on condition that he would "leave the Irish fashions," pay obedience to the English laws, and conform himself and those under his rule to the manners and usages of the Pale. † However willingly this chief would have continued his harassing warfare, had he been seconded by the other great captains, his solitary defiance of the king's government would, he knew, be entirely fruitless. Already, with the view of crushing him, the lord deputy had proclaimed a "hosting" into his territory, with store of provisions for a campaign of fourteen days. O'Connor saw clearly, therefore, that the only way to preserve his possessions, or even his life, was to follow the example of his fellow toparchs, and submit to the mercy of the crown. The news of his intention to proffer submission

* "Occhonor, root of all mischief," says the lord justice, in one of his despatches to the king. — *S. P.* CCCXIV.

† State Papers, CCCXIX.

came the more welcome to the government, as saving the cost of the threatened expedition, which the state of the exchequer at this time but ill could bear.* The council consented, therefore, to accept his own proposition, which was, that he should fulfil his former covenants, as agreed upon by indentures; and shortly after, his principal adherents, O'Mulmoy, O'Mulloghlin, and Mac Geoghegan, made their submission in like manner.†

In a parliament appointed to be held at the beginning of this year, but which did not meet till the 13th of June, an act was passed, which had been suggested more than once in the course of this reign, conferring on Henry and his successors the title of king of Ireland. This measure was adopted in consequence of a notion said to be prevalent among the natives, that the regal dominion of the kingdom of Ireland was vested in the pope for the time being; and that from him the king of England held the lordship of that realm. It was therefore hoped that Henry's adoption of the royal title would disabuse the Irish chieftains of their error, and lead them to acknowledge with less hesitation his paramount dominion. A. D. 1541.

But there had now opened upon them a prospect, not merely of mercy, but of favours and honours, at the hands of royalty, which wanted no further inducement to draw them in that direction; and, throughout the remaining years of this reign, little else is left to the historian than to pass in review the different chiefs who, with an almost lavish generosity, were in the same breath pardoned and rewarded, and some of whose names still stand memorials of this truly princely policy, among the most shining and honourable titles of the Irish peerage.

In the instance of a wild mountain chief, named

* The financial resources of the Irish government were, at all times, scanty and precarious; and Davies tells us that, in all the most ancient pipe-rolls, the report of the state of the exchequer is invariably, "In Thesauro nil." Even in the reign of Henry VIII., so much was the Irish exchequer neglected, that (as appears from a letter of Cowley to the duke of Norfolk) it was destitute even of Books of the Revenue. — See Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. ii. Second Series, letter cxxvi.

† The Council of Ireland to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCXXIII.

Tirlogh O'Toole, this course of policy was attended with circumstances not unworthy of notice. The sept of the O'Tooles, whose territory bordered on the marches of Dublin, had been, to a greater degree than many even of the more powerful septs, a source of annoyance and terror to the English Pale. Occupying the mountainous parts of the county of Wicklow, their only habitations were the wood and the morass, their only fortresses, the deep glens and mountain-passes. The reigning chief, however, Tirlogh O'Toole, combined with the ferocity of a border ravager much of that generous sense of honour by which the rude heroes of chivalry were distinguished; and, on one occasion, when all the great Irish lords, O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Connor, and others, had leagued to invade the English Pale, Tirlogh sent word to the lord deputy, that, seeing the principal chiefs were now all combined against him, he, Tirlogh, thought it but fair to be on his side; but, "as soon as the others made peace, then would he alone make war with him." This chivalrous promise the chief faithfully kept; nor was it till O'Donnell, O'Neill, and others, had made their submission and withdrawn, that Tirlogh, summoning forth his wild followers from their mountain-holds, renewed, fiercely as before, his harassing inroads on the English borders.*

Even to this rude and houseless warrior, the conciliatory influence of the royal policy had now found its way. Requesting a parley with the lord deputy, he asked for permission to repair to England to see the king, "of whom he had heard so much honour," and likewise to present to him an humble petition for some lands to which he laid claim. Wisely entering into

* "And although it shall appear to your majesty that this Thirrolough is but a wretched person, and a man of no grete power, neither having house to put his hedd in, nor yet money in his purse to by him a garment, yet may he well make 2 or 3 hundred men. — Assuring your highness that he hath doon more hurte to your English Pale then any man in Irlande, and woll do, whensoever he shall not aither be clerely banished or restored to your hieghnes favours, wherby he may be bound to serve your majestie, as we thinke verely he woil do." — The Lord Deputy and Council to Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCXXIX. p. 267., *note.*

what he knew to be the royal wishes, the lord deputy acceded to this request; supplied him with 20*l.* from his own purse towards his expenses, and gave him likewise a recommendatory letter to the duke of Norfolk, who was then universally regarded as the warm friend and patron of Irish interests. It was also suggested that the castle of Powerscourt, which stood upon a part of the lands claimed by this chief, should be granted to him by the king.

The earl of Desmond, having at length consented to make his submission, acquainted the lord deputy and council that he was ready, on hostages being given, to repair to the borders of Cashel for that purpose. He had demanded that the earl of Ormond should be given in pledge for him; but to this the lord deputy would not agree; and the hostages whom he sent instead, were the archbishop of Dublin, the master of the ordnance, and his own brother. Among other articles of this submission, which was signed and sealed at sir Thomas Butler's house, at Cahir, Desmond agreed to renounce, for himself and his heirs for ever, the singular privilege claimed by his ancestors, of never appearing at any parliament, nor entering into any walled town. To get rid of the variance between him and Ormond respecting the title of the earldom of Desmond, it was agreed that a cross-marriage should take place between their children; and each bound himself to the other in the sum of 4000*l.* to see this engagement performed. Both Sentleger and the lord chancellor then accompanied Desmond to the town of Kilmalloch, a place where no deputy of the king had set his foot for a hundred years before. Here the earl most hospitably entertained them, taking occasion, during the few days they passed with him, to give such able and valuable counsel for the reformation of Ireland, as filled these two lords with admiration; and, in a letter to the king from Sentleger, recounting the transactions just mentioned, the once dangerous, perverse, and outlawed Desmond is described as "undoubtedly a very wise and discreet gentleman."

Accordingly, without even waiting the royal sanction, he was sworn a member of the king's council.*

From Kilmalloch the lord deputy proceeded to the city of Limerick, and there, assisted by the earl of Ormond, held a parley with O'Brian, in order to prevail upon that chief to proffer his obedience.† But O'Brian answered, that he must take more time to consult his kinsmen and followers, adding, with a view of the matter somewhat more constitutional than Henry's ministers were accustomed to, that, "although the captain of his nation, he was still but one man." The principal complaints he had now to make against the king's government were, that they prevented him from building his bridge across the Shannon, and had likewise deprived him of all that authority over the natives inhabiting the eastern side of the river, which his predecessors had invariably exercised.‡ To this the lord deputy answered, that rather than allow him to obtain either of these objects, he himself would continue at war with him as long as it pleased the king to permit him.

In the parliament that assembled at Dublin, in the month of June, there were present, together with the earls of Ormond and Desmond, a great number of Anglo-Irish lords who had not, for many years before, attended in their places. Among these were the lord Barry, the lord Roche, the lord Fitz Maurice, and also lord Bermingham of Athenry. But a far more remarkable feature of this opening of the houses of parliament was the attendance there of the procurators, or attorneys, of O'Brian, and also, in their own proper persons, of the chiefs Cavanagh, O'Moore, O'Reilly, Mac William, and others, to whom, to their great satisfaction, the speeches delivered by the lord chancellor and the speaker

* Sentleger to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCXXXIV.

† Ibid. "Ther we taryed 8 daies, as well to pacefie sarten matters of variance depending among the citezins ther, as also to parle with Obrian, who is the gretest Irissheman of the west of this lande."

‡ Donogh O'Brian, in the year 1543, petitioned for the captainship of this district.—"Item, he desireth the landes and captainship of Onaght, on this syde the water of Shynnayn, which in times past he and his ancestors had." — Requests of O'Brian, &c., *S. P.* CCCXCIII.

were interpreted by the earl of Ormond in their own language. On this occasion, too, — as Sentleger, in describing to the king the ceremonies of the day, informs him, — O'Reilly, the chief of East Brefney, appeared in the dress which his majesty had given him.*

The bill conferring upon the monarch the title of king of Ireland was passed by both houses, with the most joyous unanimity; and the Sunday following was a day of general rejoicing. The lords and gentlemen all went in procession to St. Patrick's church, where a solemn mass was sung by the archbishop of Dublin: after which the act was proclaimed in the presence of 2000 persons, and a grand Te Deum concluded the ceremony. Still more to gratify the public feeling, the king issued a proclamation for a general pardon. "There were made in the city," says the lord deputy, "great bonfires, wine was set in the streets, and there were great feastings in the houses." †

About a fortnight before the date of these memorable transactions, lord Leonard Gray, the victim, unjustly as it appears, of an official cabal, was publicly executed, as a traitor, on Tower Hill. The recorded charges against him, at once numerous and frivolous, evince the desire, far more than the power, to substantiate actual guilt. His family connections, both with the Geraldines, and with some of the leading chiefs, had given him a hold on the hearts of the Irish, which excited the jealousy doubtless of Ormond, and was one of the main sources of the hatred with which that lord so long pursued him. Even in the articles of accusation, Gray's popularity is made one of the leading charges; and it is alleged against him, as an act degrading to his royal master, that he had passed through the heart of Thomond into Connaught, without any other guard than a single galloglass of O'Brian's, bearing an axe before him. Another charge, founded evidently on mere surmise and rumour, shows sufficiently the spirit that

* Sentleger to Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCXL. † Ibid.

actuated his accusers. It is intimated, rather than alleged, that the king's artillery had been left by him at Galway, that it might be ready there for the bishop of Rome, or the Spaniards, in case they should land in those parts; and a report, it is added, was then prevalent, that cardinal Pole, young Gerald's uncle, was soon to arrive there with a large army.* Such was the weak and absurd character of most of the charges upon which this brave and active officer was condemned to so unworthy a death.†

But the gracious example set by the monarch had diffused a far more mild and liberal spirit through every branch of the administration; and the numerous candidates for court favour that were now emerging from their long outlawed haunts found all a most ready and zealous promoter of their several suits in the present popular lord deputy. To him, indeed, and the council, appears to have been chiefly left the selection of those individuals upon whom dignities and grants of lands were to be bestowed. Among the more humble requests transmitted through him, there are a few which, however homely in their nature, let in more light on the social condition of the Irish dynasts of that period than could ever be collected from such merely public events as form the whole and sole materials of our general history. Thus, we find a request made by Desmond, — "the noblest man in all the realm," — that the king would provide him with robes to wear in parliament, and likewise with apparel for his daily use, "whereof" "he hath great lack." Sentleger himself, who states the circumstance, had already given this earl a gown, jacket, doublet, hose, and other articles of dress, for which he was very

* The Council of Ireland's Articles against Lord Leonard Gray, *S. P.* CCCXXVI.

† Among these numerous items of charge, which amount in all to ninety, we find the following, founded on the old Irish custom of gossipred: "20. — After this, was my said lord made gossope to Oneill, whiche in Irland is the grettist friendship accepted amonges men."

Through the whole of these ninety articles of accusation, not a single allusion is made to any act of sacrilege supposed to have been committed by Gray, either at Down, Galway, or elsewhere; so that for these idle tales, repeated from historian to historian, no other authority is to be found than the dull fabler, Stanihurst.

thankful, and wore in all places where he accompanied the lord deputy.* For his want of means to provide these necessaries, Desmond accounted by the wasting wars in which he had been engaged. Mac Gilpatrick, also, who shortly after was created baron of Upper Ossory, and O'Reilly, who was to be made viscount of Cavan, were provided, in like manner, with robes for parliament by the king; while the chief O'Rourke, who is described as "a man somewhat gross, and not trained to repair unto his majesty," made petition only for a suit of ordinary apparel.

There is yet another incident worth mentioning, as showing curiously the state of society at that period. Two of the Geraldine lords of Munster, the lord Roche and the White Knight, having, by their constant quarrels and inroads, entirely wasted each other's territories, the king sent orders to the earl of Desmond to take them both into custody. They were, accordingly, seized and imprisoned in Dublin castle, "where," says the lord deputy, in stating the particulars to the king, "they now agree very well together, lying both in one bed; although, before, they could not agree in a country of forty miles' length between them." He adds, — "I purpose they shall there remain till their amity be better confirmed, and then, God willing, I intend to send them home free, apparelled like Englishmen; for at present they are in their saffron shirts and kernoghe's coats." †

When to this picture of the life and manners of the higher ranks, of both races, at this period, we add that the great O'Neill himself was so unlettered as to be unable to write his name ‡, there needs no further or stronger evidence of the embruting effects of the policy of the Pale, and the sort of frightful retribution by which it debased as well the rulers as the ruled.

Though the chiefs had become, in general, so well disposed to the English crown, there were still two, and

* Sentleger to Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCXXXIV.
† Id. *S. P.* CCCXCIV.
‡ See O'Neill's Submission, signed with his mark, *S. P.* CCCLXXIX. Also Mac Gilpatrick's, signed in the same manner, *S. P.* CCCXXXVI.

those the most powerful of the whole body, O'Neill and O'Donnell, who continued, for some time, to hold off; and no less by their example than by the mighty means of mischief which they possessed, threatened to disturb the now dawning prospects of peace. Such was the influence, indeed, of those two dynasts, that it was thought unsafe to make any reduction in the king's army as long as they continued to withhold their submission. At length, O'Donnell, who appears to have been led to adopt this course by feelings of friendship, as well as relationship, towards O'Neill*, announced his intention to give in his submission; and even promised, should his brother chief not follow his example, to assist the lord deputy against him.

After some efforts made in vain, as well by O'Donnell as by the government, to bring O'Neill to a parley, he was, at last, by the more effective means of an inroad or two into his territory, induced to proffer obedience; and, though he appears to have been but little relied upon, yet so prompt was now the flow of royal favour in this direction, that the king, in the following year, at Greenwich, created him earl of Tyrone, and his son, lord Duncannon. His own ambition had been to obtain the title of earl of Ulster; but this the king peremptorily refused, expressing his wonder that O'Neill, who had so often and grievously offended, should think of asking the name and honour of Ulster, one of the great earldoms of Christendom, and the king's proper inheritance.

A. D. 1542.

The accession of O'Donnell to the ranks of the loyal was hailed with welcome by the government; and, even before the adhesion of O'Neill, we find Cusacke, the speaker of the Irish house of commons, proudly boasting that, as long as O'Brian, O'Donnell, Mac William, and the earl of Desmond, were true to the king, there was nothing to be feared from all the rest of Ireland.

A few particulars respecting O'Donnell, which occur in a letter from the lord deputy, would lead us to con-

* O'Donnell's first wife was O'Neill's sister.

clude that, in point of civilisation, he was somewhat advanced beyond the generality of his brother chiefs. In recommending that parliament robes should be bestowed upon him, Sentleger adds that in other apparel he is better furnished than any other Irishman; and then proceeds to describe his dress: — a coat of crimson velvet with aiglets of gold, twenty or thirty pair; over that, a great double cloak of crimson satin bordered with black velvet, and in his bonnet a feather set full of aiglets of gold. He was attended by his chaplain, a learned young man, brought up in France, for whom Sentleger, in the year 1544, asked and obtained of the king, the presentation to the bishopric of Elphin. O'Donnell's wish was to be made earl of Sligo or of Tyrconnel; and the latter was the title granted, but not until the year 1603.

To indulge further in this sort of detail, respecting the numerous other objects of royal favour, who were selected for promotion or ennoblement from among the ancient lords of the land, would, however interesting, even in an historical point of view, usurp more space than the prescribed limits of this work allow. I shall therefore enumerate briefly the names of the other chiefs and lords who were now selected as the primary materials of an Anglo-Irish peerage. Morough O'Brian, whose constant encroachments on the country eastward of the Shannon had kept the government of the Pale in continual alarm, was created earl of Thomond for life, with the dignity of baron of Inchiquin descendible to his heirs male; while Donough, his nephew, as a reward for his unvarying attachment to the English, was made baron of Ibrackan, and, after the decease of his uncle, earl of Thomond for life. On another equally active chief, O'Connor, there had been, as early as the year 1537, some intention of bestowing the title of baron of Offaley. But, though, at a later period, the king gave formally his assent to this grant, it was never carried into effect. A. D. 1543.

Mac William Eighter, of Clanricarde, the captain

of the Anglo-Irish clan of the De Burghs, had, on the deposition of the former Mac William by lord Leonard Gray, been raised to that name and seigniory, in his place. This lord was, by the natives, called *Negan*, or the beheader, from his having constructed a mound of the heads of men slain in battle, and then covered it over with earth. On making his submission, early in the year 1541, he had petitioned the crown for a grant, or rather restoration, of the earldom heretofore enjoyed by his family; and also a confirmation, by letters patent, of all the possessions which had descended to him by inheritance. It was supposed that he had himself counted upon being made earl of Connaught; but against this the council strongly gave their advice, reminding his majesty that the province of Connaught formed a fifth part of his Irish dominions. It was therefore fixed that he was to be created earl of Clanricarde, and baron of Dunkellin, while his fellow-chieftain and relative, Mac Gill Patrick, was to be made baron of Upper Ossory.

A. D. 1542. Meanwhile O'Neill, who, although the last to tender his allegiance, was the very first to hasten to avail himself of its fruits, had set sail, accompanied by Hugh O'Cervallan, bishop of Clogher, for England; and waiting upon the king, at Greenwich, made a surrender to him of all his territory, and agreed to renounce the name of O'Neill. A few days after, both name and estates were regranted to him, by letters patent, together with the title of earl of Tyrone.*

1543. In the following year, in the queen's closet at Greenwich, which was "richly hung with cloth of arras, and well strewed with rushes," for the occasion, took place the ceremony of creating O'Brian earl of Thomond, and conferring upon Mac William — or, as he had been styled since his submission, lord Fitz William — the name and honour of earl of Clanricarde. At

* Henry VIII. to the Lord Deputy and Council. After announcing this creation, the king adds: — "And for his reward, We gave unto him a chayne of threescore poundes and odde, We payd for his robes, and the charges of his creation, threescore and fyve poundes tenne shillinges two pens, and We gave him in redy money oon hundreth poundes sterling." — *S. P.* CCCLXXXI.

the same time, Donough O'Brian, who was attended, as were probably all the other lords, by an interpreter, was made baron of Ibrackan. By a very thoughtful act of munificence, the king granted also to each of these noblemen a house and lands, near Dublin, for the keeping of their retinues and horses, whenever they resorted thither to attend parliaments and councils.*

There being, at the time of their visit to England, an almost total want of sterling money in Ireland, the lord deputy, in providing them with the means of defraying their expenses, lent to O'Brian the sum of 100*l.* in half groats. A similar loan, attended by circumstances yet more homely, was advanced to the lord of Tyrone. This chief, being likewise in want of money, to defray the charges of his visit to court, was provided by Sentleger, who had himself borrowed the sum from merchants of Dublin, with 200 marks sterling; the debt to be repaid, according to the fashion of primitive times, in cattle to that amount.†

In allowing full credit to the English monarch for the mild and tolerant character of his policy towards Ireland, it must, at the same time, be recollected, that the facility with which all the great Irish leaders agreed to reject the pope's supremacy, and acknowledge the king their spiritual head, removed all grounds for any such sanguinary persecution as raged at the same period on the other side of the Channel. Not content with his formal renouncement of Rome, O'Brian, in a paper entitled "The Irishmen's Requests‡," demanded that "there should be sent over some well-learned Irishmen, brought up in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, not being infected with the poison of the bishop of Rome, and that having been first approved by the

* "We have granted unto every of them, and their heires masles, summe house and pece of lande nere Dublyn, for the keping of their horses and traynes, at their repayre to our parlyaments and counsailles."—Henry VIII. to the Lord Deputy and Council, *S. P.* CCCXCVI.

† "He hath promysed I shall have kiene for the same, and for that have sente his sonne and dyverse of your retynewe here to levie the same."—*S. P.* CCCLXXIV.

‡ State Papers, CCCXCIII.

king's majesty, they should then be sent to preach the word of God in Ireland." The Irish lords, too, following the example of the more cultivated grandees of England, readily allowed themselves to be consoled for whatever sacrifice they had made in deserting their ancient faith, by the rich share they gained of the plunder which the confiscation of its venerable establishments afforded.* One of the requests made by O'Brian, previously to visiting the English court, was, that the grant he had received from the Irish council, of certain abbeys, lately suppressed, should be confirmed to him by the king, with the addition also of a grant of the house of Observants, at Ennis. To Donough O'Brian was given the abbey of Ellenegrane, a small island in the mouth of the Shannon, together with the moiety of the abbey of Clare; and among the rewards of Mac Gill Patrick's new loyalty, were the house of the late friars of Haghevo and the suppressed monastery of Hagmacarte.†

But, whatever may be thought of the conduct and motives of those individual chiefs who were now so readily converted from rebels into apostates and courtiers, the wise policy of the government, in thus diverting into a safe and legitimate channel the wild ambition of such powerful subjects, and producing, by conciliation, a state of peace which force and repression had vainly for ages endeavoured to effect, cannot be too highly praised, whether for its immediate effects, or the lasting and salutary example it left behind. Although to Henry himself, not merely as the source of all administrative authority, but as ever ready to afford his sanction to the liberal policy pursued in Ireland, no

* On the subject of the destruction of the religious houses, there are many, of all creeds, who would now join with the excellent Lord Herbert in "complaining of the loss of so many stately churches, dedicated to God's service;" for "although," he adds, "they may have abused the veil of religion, yet was that monastical life instituted according to the pious example of ancient Fathers, that they who found themselves unfit for the execution of worldly affairs (as many such there are) might in such voluntary retirement spend their days in divine writings or meditations." — *Hist. of the Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*

† Henry VIII. to the Lord Deputy, *S. P.* CCCXCVI.

small share of the honour of that policy is due, undoubtedly to Sentleger belongs the far higher praise of originating this system of government, and continuing manfully, and even importunately, to press the adoption of it upon the king. So much was he aware, indeed, of the extent to which he presumed on the royal patience, that, after soliciting in one of his letters some favour for Mac Gill Patrick, he adds,—"Thus do I always move your majesty to give. I most humbly beseech you of pardon, for I verily trust that your highness shall win more obedience with these small gifts, than perchance hath been won, before this time, with 10,000*l.* spent." The king himself, though yielding to most of these requests with a degree of ductility and thoughtfulness not observable in any other acts of his later years, yet deemed it necessary to restrain a little the liberality of his deputy; and thus, in answering one of his letters, reproves the too ready ear lent by him to all sorts of suitors: — "Farther you shall understand, that we much marvel to see so many letters written from you in the recommendation of every man's suit that will desire the same. It shall be well done that, ere you write, you examine whether it be expedient for us to grant the suit or not."

Preparations being now on foot for a grand campaign in France, orders were sent by the king to the earl of Ormond, to furnish him speedily with a small troop of kerns, or Irish light infantry, to assist in the sieges of Boulogne or Montreuil. Shortly before, this earl had been commanded by his majesty to raise and equip a force of 3000 of these troops, whereof 1000 were to be sent immediately to the west marches of England, as well for the defence of the English borders as for the annoyance of the Scots; while the remaining 2000 were to be kept in such readiness, as, "upon short warning," to attend his royal person into France.* On considering, however, the danger of leaving Ireland to the risk of A.D. 1544.

* The Privy Council of England to the Lord Justice and Council of Ireland, *S. P.* CCCCIII.

invasion, without an adequate number of troops for her defence, the king countermanded a part of this force, and desired that 1000 only should be sent; of which one half was to be forthwith despatched to the Pile of Fowdray, while the remainder were all to be in readiness to join him at an hour's notice. The kerns destined to serve in France were placed under the command of two nephews of the earl of Ormond *, — lord Poer and Piers Butler; the latter the second brother of the baron of Dunboyne.† According to the custom of the country, every two kerns were attended by a page or boy, to bear their mantles, weapons, and victuals.

The praises bestowed on the gallant behaviour of this Irish corps, at the siege of Boulogne, may safely be credited, even though we should reject some of those marvellous stories with which the chronicler of this part of our history has laboured to enliven his task. According to this authority, such were the wild feats of courage performed by these kerns, that the French, astonished, sent an ambassador to inquire of Henry "whether he had brought with him men or devils."

A. D. 1545. It was not till the following year that the services of the Irish were required in the war against Scotland. A large army having been then collected on the Scottish borders, under the command of the earl of Hertford, it was intended that, while this nobleman invaded Scotland by land, there should be, at the same time, a naval descent on the western coast. To attain this latter object, the earl of Lennox, who had lately deserted the cause of his own country, and joined the English banner, entered into negotiations with Donald, the lord of the Isles; and this insular prince, agreeing readily to the terms proposed to him, passed over to Knockfergus, with a fleet of 180 galleys, having on board 4000 men.

Lennox himself, however, was still absent with the English army in Scotland; nor was it till late in the

* Ormond to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCCV.

† Sons of James, titular lord Dunboyne, by lady Joan Butler, daughter of Piers earl of Ormond.

present year, that, seeing some hopes of being able to recover the castle of Dumbarton, he hastened to Ireland to take the command of the force provided for that object.* Constant rumours of the return of Gerald, with foreign aid, had diffused excitement throughout the kingdom, and kept the government in a state of watchfulness and alarm. In the month of May, it was generally reported that Gerald was coming with a large army, from the coast of Britany, and meant to land among the Mac Carthys.† Some time after, the rumour ran that an expedition was then preparing at Brest, to convey the young Geraldine, with a force of 15,000 men, to the country of his kinsman, O'Donnell.‡ But an alarm, at a later period, to which even Sentleger attached some importance, represented Scotland as the quarter from whence this invasion was to be attempted.§

In the month of November, the squadron destined for the attack on Dumbarton set sail from Dublin, under the joint command of Lennox and Ormond; and how new was such an effort to the Irish authorities may be judged from the language in which Sentleger speaks of it: — "The thing is so rare, that there lacketh men of experience to set forth the same; for we think, this 200 years, so many men were not embarked and victualled here for so long time."|| All we know of the further course of this costly armament is, that the object for which it sailed had been wholly frustrated, before its arrival on the coast of Scotland, by the gross treachery of Stirling, the constable.¶ How soon, or to what port, it returned, neither the Scottish nor Irish records inform us.

* Sentleger to the Privy Council in England, *S. P.* CCCCXXIV.
† The Lord Justice and Council to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCCVII.
‡ Same to Same, *S.P.* CCCCVIII.
§ Sentleger to the Council of England, *S. P.* CCCCXI.
|| The Lord Deputy and Council to King HenryVIII., *S.P.*CCCCXXVII.
¶ Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. v. chap. 5.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

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